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LORD CARNARVON.

WE need hardly remind our friends that the Anti-Slavery Society has, during its course of more than half a century, made it a cardinal principle to hold itself uninfluenced in its action by party politics; and it is, therefore, in his attitude and relations to those objects, and the measures which it has ever been the aim of the Society to promote, that the Committee view with deep regret the retirement of Lord Carnarvon from the administration of the Colonial Department of Her Majesty's Government.

While the Committee has, to a large extent, differed from the noble Lord—as it has done from all his predecessors in office, since the time when Lord Glenelg presided over the Colonial Department—on the principles on which Servile Immigration for the extension of sugar cultivation has been conducted, they, nevertheless, view his resignation of office as a public and Imperial misfortune.

At the Committee Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held on

the 1st February, the following was entered on their minutes:—

“It is with deep regret that the Committee have learned the retirement of the Earl of Carnarvon from the office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and they feel bound to put on record their sense of the high aims which distinguished so many of his measures, in the administration of the Colonial Department of the British Empire.

“Among these they would specify, as signalising his tenure of office, the Abolition of Slavery in the Protectorate of Western Africa—a measure distinguished alike for its boldness and wisdom; and more recently his efforts to rescue Jamaica from the financial unsoundness and the social injustice of those principles on which Coolie Immigration has been conducted in that Colony.”

THE COMING CONGRESS.

AMONG the subjects which must claim the attention of Europe, and, above all, that of England, at the Conference or Congress which shall affix its seal to a settlement of

the claims of civilisation and humanity on Turkey and its dependent Empire, it is almost needless to say that slavery and the slave-trade demand a foremost place.

It may be safely said, in the interest of the Turkish Empire, that nothing can so conduce to stay its rapid dissolution and to make possible its political and social regeneration, as the extirpation of a cancer which has proved in all times, the slow, but sure destroyer of nations.

On the other hand, setting aside, for the moment the duty of vindicating the outraged "law of Nature and of Nations," the right of Europe, and specially that of England, to a vast and legitimate commerce with Africa, now strangled soon as born by the Turkish and Egyptian slave-trade, requires to be once for all asserted by a collective engagement for their extinction. It is impossible to estimate the loss sustained by Europe, from the chronic desolation of Africa, by the nations of Islam. While all have been watching the ghastly spectacle of slaughter in the present Eastern war, it will probably have occurred to very few, that cruelty and murder on a yet more stupendous scale have been perpetrated every year in Africa; and that not less than 500,000 human beings have been annually consigned to a violent or torturing death to maintain slavery in the Ottoman Empire.

If "British Interests" have any meaning in connection with the present struggle, they lie in securing just government in Egypt; of course involving the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout its borders.

In illustration of the foregoing views we subjoin extracts from the "Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls on the Manufactures and Commerce of their Consular Districts." They come from various countries, and from both hemispheres where slavery exists, if not in name yet in essence, and where toil is forced and unrequited. From all these comes the one pregnant lesson that while the "gain of oppression" may endure for a time, sooner or later its Nemesis arrives. Spain—the United States—Turkey—Egypt and Peru—and we must add their bondholders, have paid, or are paying, the penalty pronounced of old: "Woe unto him who increaseth that which is not his, how long? Shall not they rise up suddenly

that shall bite thee, and awake that shall vex thee, and thou shalt be a spoil unto them?"

SPAIN AND CUBA.

(From the Report of Mr. Phipps for 1876.)

"The Cuban Insurrection, which has cost Spain, since its outbreak in 1870, 90,000 men killed, necessitates at this moment a regular army of 104,000 men, according to a statement made in the Chambers last month, £795,272 per month, or at the rate of about £9,500,000 sterling per annum. I am, however, inclined to think that this statement is exaggerated, and that the sum of £10,000 per day, which I have heard from a reliable source, more nearly represents the costs of the operations. The Government has just been obliged to contract a loan for £5,000,000—of which at present only £3,000,000 is taken, secured on the Customs revenues of the Island, which are partly mortgaged for twelve years—in order to maintain the army. The receipts of Cuba in 1874 were calculated at £9,000,000, and including the proceeds of the extraordinary taxes at £12,000,000, of which the army absorbed nearly £6,000,000. The Cuban debt up to 1876 has been estimated at £13,150,000 sterling."

BRAZIL (RIO DE JANEIRO).

(From the Report of Consul Austin for 1875.)

"The direct intervention by the Government" to promote immigration "has of late been confined to the authorisation to their Consular agents in London, Liverpool, Hamburg, Switzerland, Italy, and Portugal, to grant free passages to colonists in the steamers of the Transatlantic Lines, as well as the expenditure in promoting emigration from England and Portugal. But the prevalence of yellow fever, and the publicity afforded in England and Europe to the disastrous results attending colonisation in the Empire, have for several years exercised a manifest check to these operations.

"To account for the failure of the 'parceria' or métayer system, adopted extensively in Sao Paulo, it should be explained that its success depended upon a principle of equity, which is stated on high authority to have been wanting in the planters towards their associates in the system; who add that, even admitting the worst strictures passed on the colonists concerned, it was not sufficient to absolve the planters

from the extortions and iniquities practised by them towards those helpless labourers.

"In many of such contracts," he says, "is clearly manifested the stratagem of the slave-dealer quenching with sordid avarice the aspirations of the free man, and fatally reducing him to the base and precarious situation of a slave. Under this aspect, colonisation is but a substitution for the odious traffic of Africans."

BRAZIL (PERNAMBUCO).—(*From Consul Corfield's Report for 1875.*)

"The labour question is daily becoming more serious for this, and the northern provinces of Brazil more especially. Every month large numbers of slaves are regularly sent to the Rio market for sale from these provinces, and the drain is now seriously felt. The high price given in Rio for slaves may be a temptation to the needy owners of the north, and another reason for this systematic deportation may arise from altered agricultural circumstances, penuriousness, and reduced cultivation.

"The best free labour substitutes would be Portuguese from the former mother country, and natives of the Azores. They would feel themselves just so much at home as an Englishman in New York does, and perhaps more so.

"The general condition of this part of Brazil can, however, be better summed up in the words of the last report of the Pernambuco Chamber of Commerce:—'The crisis against which our unfortunate commerce has contended for upwards of four years still continues. From each year as it passes, an appeal is made for the ensuing one, but the evil assumes each time more serious proportions. Failures continue, confidence disappears, credit is considerably restricted, trade is diminished. Well-established houses are ruined, and this tremendous concourse of alarming antecedents drag along with them the hope of seeing affairs take their former course, bearing in mind above all the quiet indifference with which these things are observed by the supreme authorities of the State.'"

BRAZIL.—(*From Mr. O'Connor's Report for 1876.*)

"The Minister of Agriculture calculates that of the total number of slaves in Brazil (estimated in round numbers at 1,500,000),

about 800,000 are employed in what may be strictly considered productive labour. Now the annual decrease in this great factor of economic progress, through the action of the Slave Emancipation Law of 1871, is approximately reckoned at 4 per cent., while the actual duration of slavery is generally limited to a period of from 10 to 15 years.

" . . . The costly attempts to attract towards Brazil a tide of European emigration have not been in any sense successful. The introduction of coolies, now strongly agitated, is beset with many difficulties, and will therefore scarcely afford any valuable relief to the scarcity of labour. Nor are the Brazilians an agricultural race, while the long existence of slavery in their midst makes them adverse to occupations which have always been performed by a class so much their inferior.

" . . . Immense tracts are claimed by persons who will neither cultivate nor sell, so long as they can hold the land free of burthen. Fortunately, the great natural fertility of the soil, its abundance, and its adaptability for producing the highly priced products of coffee, cotton, sugar, tea, and tobacco, have hitherto been sufficient to check the evil consequences of this state of things, but how long this will be the case is a serious question.

" . . . The Emancipation Law decreed, as is known, that children born of slave mothers after September 28th, 1871, are free; and, furthermore, that an Emancipation Fund should be created and applied to the liberation of slaves. Its results may so far be stated, that from 1871 to December 31st, 1875, the number of free-born children of slave mothers was 155,801. The Emancipation Fund amounted to upwards of 7,000,000 reis, equal to £700,000 sterling, of which sum 3,624,521 reis (£362,452 sterling) had been distributed, to be applied for purposes of emancipation. The number of slaves actually freed directly in virtue of this fund appears very small, being reckoned at 1,503; but the total number of slaves freed since 1871, either by voluntary manumission or otherwise, is estimated at 21,704. It may be stated that voluntary liberation of slaves is of frequent occurrence, and that the strong public feeling against slavery, especially in the provinces of Rio Grande, do Sul and Parana, is a powerful auxiliary to the Emancipation Law.

" . . . Of the 1,476,567 forming the slave population of Brazil, but 1,338 are able either to read or write."

PERU (CALLAO)

(*From Mr. Consul March's Report for 1877.*)

"It is not very long since a telegram was received at Lima, announcing the ratification of the Treaty between Peru and China relative to Chinese emigration, and stating that arrangements were being made to carry its provisions into effect. It will be some time, however, before these arrangements bring about the desired movement. The Chinese Commissioner who lately visited Peru, to inquire into the condition of his countrymen, was so convinced of the ill-treatment to which they were subjected at the hands of some of their employers, that in a letter I have seen, addressed by him to a friend in Lima, he says:—'The Chinese Government undoubtedly will send a duly accredited Commissioner to Peru, sometime next year, to institute a rigid investigation into the treatment of Chinese before it permits free emigration to take place.' Efforts have been made by the Peruvian Government to afford protection to these people, but, notwithstanding, their condition, as a rule, is far from satisfactory. In the first place the isolation of the haciendas is such that the coolie is entirely at the mercy of his master. This master, or his overseer, may be a conscientious and humane person, or he may be the contrary. In the latter case if the coolie runs away he will either starve in the surrounding wilderness, or—which may be considered quite as bad—be recaptured and punished in a way which he may not survive to tell. Many of these Chinamen are engaged in the guano deposits, and from personal knowledge I can state that their lot in those dreary spots is a most unhappy one. Besides being worked almost to death, they have neither sufficient food nor passably wholesome water. Their rations consist of two pounds of rice and about half a pound of meat. This is generally served out to them between ten and eleven in the morning, by which time they have got through six hours' work. Each man is compelled to clear from four to five tons of guano a-day. During the last quarter of 1875, it is reported, that there were 355 Chinamen employed at Pabellon de Pica alone, of whom no less than 98

were in the hospital. The general sickness is swelled legs, caused, it is supposed, by drinking condensed water not sufficiently cooled and lack of vegetable diet. The features of this disease are not unlike those of scurvy or purpura.

"It is often said that the advancement of Peru depends upon the importation of Chinamen, as they alone, it is alleged, are able to withstand the climate whilst engaged in agricultural pursuits. This is an error which I think would be soon dispelled were the inhabitants obliged to labour for their support instead of depending, either directly or indirectly, on their rich guano and nitrate deposits, and on the cheap and hitherto easily obtained Asiatic labour. Little besides guano, nitrate, and sugar, is exported from Peru, and yet the country is eminently suited for the production of other articles. The soil remains uncultivated, and the vast mineral treasures which it is well known to possess lie undeveloped. Had not the importation of Chinamen received at the outset such decided support from the Government, the question of colonisation in Peru would, ere this, have been solved."

PORTUGAL (MOZAMBIQUE).

(*From Consul Ellison's Report for 1875.*)

"In addition to the native tribes, the population comprises numerous emigrants from India, Canareens, Parsees, and Banyans, as well as the Portuguese settlers, who inhabit the trading stations held upon the coast and the colonies upon the Zambesi. The 'Ensaio Estatistica' comments upon this community in the following terms:—

(Cap. I. Naticia Geral do Paize de sells Habitants, p. 45 et seq.)

" 'This mixture of men of various religions and various manners and customs, in whose number must be included many criminals that the mother country has cast off, cannot represent the type of an excellent society ('una sociedade morigerada'), and for the greater reason, because the Gospel has not here apostles who plead by word and example, because education and instruction are almost generally neglected, because the public force is very often insufficient to suppress crime and vice, and because the heat of the climate deters the European from work.'

(An honourable exception should be made

as a note to this paragraph in favour of the prelate of Mozambique, previously alluded to, Father José Caetano Gonçalves; neither is the heat of the country the slightest excuse for life-long idleness, it is the habit of the reliance on slave labour alone that induces this destructive vice).

“ ‘Idleness, which is the common vice of the country, has left immense landed properties barren, capable of yielding every kind of produce. The very slaves themselves are taken away by their masters from their employment in tilling the ground, and from other industrial pursuits, to crowd the entrances of their houses (the masters’), in the vain display of false wealth.’

“ ‘If idleness so dominates on the coast, it can be supposed what it is in the interior at the towns of Seva and Tete, and the adjacent estates.’

“ ‘Men live in complete idleness, and make over to their women the management of the trade with the interior, and the management of their household slaves.’ ”

PORTUGAL (MOZAMBIQUE). — (*From Consul Elton's Report for 1876.*)

“ It is a thankless task to report that as in previous years, from 1847 to 1874, so in 1876, ‘agriculture and industry, despised for more than three centuries in the Portuguese possessions in East Africa, still remain to-day completely in the background’ (Estatistica Ensalo, &c., published by Government at Lisbon, 31st December, 1858, p. 66, et seq.) and, more painful to add, that the death of each settler employed in planting operations obviously leaves a blank amongst the colonists which a new man can with the utmost difficulty be procured to fill up.

“ The population has indeed of late been burdened with a considerable convict collection of murderers and thieves, from both Portugal and Goa; lazy, useless scoundrels, a curse to the coast, and the worst possible example to the natives; but no settlers, no honest men in search of honest work, appear at Mozambique. Some ground, it is true, has been taken up for cotton culture near Inhambane and Delagoa Bay, by Englishmen, but no one has yet heard of even a commencement of cultivation having been made. Indeed it would be hopeless to talk of improvement effected by agriculture.”

EGYPT (SUEZ).

(*From Consul West's Report for 1876.*)

“ Agriculture in the environs of Suez progresses but slowly, owing more to the want of confidence in, and encouragement on the part of, the Egyptian Government, than to apathy or indifference on the part of the natives. It was given out in the course of the year 1876, that native Egyptian subjects would be allowed to hold any ground they brought under cultivation, and to enjoy the produce thereof for three years unmolested and free of charge or land tax, after which time a small land tax would be levied, which might afterwards be increased, according to the assessed value of the land.

“ The first effect of this notice was to cause efforts to be made to level and water some acres more land, but as the arrangement was never completed, and no security was given that the holders should so enjoy the land they thus brought under cultivation, several of the attempts were abandoned under the impression and fear that as soon as they managed to raise a crop of any sort, they would be mulcted at the pleasure of the official in power, who would have no regard for any verbal promise made by his predecessor, or even of any promise made by himself, if he were ordered from Cairo to impose and levy a tax on the land.”

After perusing the foregoing extracts our readers will turn with relief to a few of those from our Consuls reporting from countries where slavery has come to an end.

TUNIS.—From Consul-General Wood's report for 1873 and 1874 we should gladly make extracts did our space admit—as they afford a gratifying contrast to those we have just given. A treaty has now for many years existed between the British Government and Tunis, for the extinction of the slave-trade and slavery. This measure, aided, no doubt, in its execution by the vigilance and counsel of Her Majesty's Consul, has had an executive reality unknown in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Mr. Wood says:—“ Piracy and slavery have alike disappeared, and the prompt measures taken in any occasional and exceptional case of slave-buying only serve to show the completeness with which the system has been eradicated.” He then tells us of an amount of

industrial and commercial prosperity "which it would be difficult to find another example under Moslem rule," of a Sanitary Board, of three hospitals and of a prison, "which would vie with any European establishment of the same description in cleanliness, accommodation and comfort." All this would show that Islamism's most deadly cancer, slavery, being extirpated, the material and social interests of its people will survive and flourish.

SPAIN (PORTO RICO).

(From the Report of Consul Pauli for the year 1876.)

"The three years' term of enforced contract for the freed slaves, or 'libertos,' expired on April last, and that the labour market is not the least affected by this fact, while the wise delay has enabled the 'liberto' to take his place in the country without observation or agitation of any kind.]

"Porto Rico may now be fairly classed among other West Indian Islands, British, French, and Danish, as a country where slavery has ceased to exist, and with the additional advantage from its large relative population of being independent of imported labour, which is unnecessary here, and undesirable when it can be avoided."

PORTUGAL (LOANDA).

(From Consul Hopkins' Report for 1875.)

"Now that slavery is abolished in this Portuguese Colony, plenty of unskilled labour can be obtained, but what is wanted is a few skilled cotton planters from the Southern States to teach the natives how to turn this most useful branch of agriculture into a lucrative one."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"TWELVE crops of cotton have been raised in the United States by free labour, and a comparison of the returns with an equal number of crops before the war given by the *New York Herald* shows some interesting results. For the purpose of comparison the period of labour is divided into two portions: the first including four years during which the crops of 1865 to 1868, both inclusive, were made, and in which the labour system was greatly disorganised; the second including eight years, 1869 to 1877, when

free labour was fairly well organised. BY dividing the twelve crops preceding the war in the same manner the following results are obtained: First period (four years) crops of 1849-50 to 1852-53 inclusive, 10,729,874 bales; add consumption of the South not then included in the commercial crop statement, 500,810 bales—total (slave), 11,230,684 bales; crops of 1865-66 to 1868-69 inclusive (free), 9,246,793 bales; excess of slave crop over free, 1,983,891 bales. Second period (eight years), crops of 1869-70, to 1876-77 inclusive, being eight years of organised free labour, 31,570,212 bales; crops of 1853-54 to 1860-61 inclusive, being eight years of slave-labour immediately preceding the war, 27,535,949 bales; add Southern consumption, then excluded from commercial crop statement, but included since the war, 1,26,8921 bales: in all, 28,797,841 bales. Excess of free labour, 2,772,371 bales. In the last eight years free labour has, therefore, as pointed out by the *New York Herald*, overtaken the palmiest days of slavery, and has produced two and three-quarter million bales more cotton. This crop is now more free from the encumbrance of debt than ever before; and with it has been raised a supply of food far greater than slavery ever compassed. The money value of the 31,500,000 bales of cotton produced in the last eight years has been over 2,000,000,000 dollars in gold, and over two-thirds of this value has been exported. Texas, which seems to be the true land of the cotton farmer, has made the greatest relative progress, now producing double the crop of cotton that she made before the war. During the last cotton year, on less than one-half per cent. of her area, or on less than half an acre in a hundred, she produced a quantity of cotton equal to one-half the entire consumption of the United States."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, January 15, 1878.

CHINESE COOLIES FOR CUBA.

THE following, which we copy from the *China Mail* of Dec. 14, 1877, has rather strongly awakened our suspicions:—

"By a private letter from the North, we learn that the long-pending Emigration Convention between Spain and China has been at last signed, and, so far as China is concerned, ratified. It may, therefore, be expected that the Chinese Minister, who was appointed so

far back as eighteen months ago, will shortly proceed to the three countries to which he is accredited, viz., the United States of America, Spain, and Peru. Our informant says the Minister may brave the discomforts of a journey overland from Peking to Shanghai, in order that no time may be lost in fulfilling the object of his mission, but we must say an attempt of the kind would be a very trying ordeal, especially to an old man of over sixty, at this time of the year. But it is more probable that His Excellency will leave Peking when the river is opened again next year, and his departure from China may therefore be looked for towards the end of next spring. We have seen a text of the Convention, and the terms seem to us to be fair to both parties."

We have no doubt that the terms (*on paper*) "are fair to both parties." Happily there is now a Chinese Embassy at the British Court, and it will be the duty of the Committee to suggest to His Excellency those safeguards without which such immigration will prove, as heretofore, even worse than Africa slavery.

GEOGRAPHY AND MASSACRE.

IN our issue for November, 1876, we published a joint memorial from the Aborigines' and the Anti-Slavery Societies to the Earl of Derby, conveying an earnest remonstrance against the cruel and needless massacre, by Mr. Stanley, of the natives of Bambireh, under the assumed sanction of the British flag.

Lord Derby, in reply, stated "that he had read with great regret reports of the circumstances which seemed to have taken place in connection with that traveller's explorations, and which have created such a painful impression in this country." While it is hardly to be conceived but that the feeling of every Englishman must be in accord with those of the noble Earl, it is with a surprise, not unmingled with disgust, that we learn that the Geographical Society are about to award to Mr. Stanley an enthusiastic ovation. It would really seem that the "auri sacra fames" which nerved the Spanish "Conquistadores" to those deeds of blood and cruelty, so well depicted by the late Arthur Helps, was

being equalled at this moment in its disregard of law, human or Divine, by a reckless passion for geographical discovery.

Colonel Yule, a member of the Geographical Society, and distinguished as the Editor of "The Travels of Marco Polo," has just written the following letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and we earnestly commend it to the perusal of our friends:—

(To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.)

SIR,—The Royal Geographical Society has, by the unanimous vote of its Council, invited Mr. Stanley to give a discourse in St. James's Hall, and to dine with them. The unanimity was secured by the retirement from the meeting and from the Council of one member, who was persistent in opposing even the first of those steps except on conditions. Will you allow him to state his grounds? There is no personal question, so far as he is concerned, and there shall be no breaches of confidence.

Two facts, I urged, were before the world. The Society was bound to deal with both, if with either. One was that Mr. Stanley had done the greatest feat in the history of discovery; the other that, by his own account (the only one), he had in the earlier part of his expedition done things deserving of the gravest condemnation. It was not fitting to pay Mr. Stanley honour without distinctly letting him know that he had grave things to explain. I have seen so much misconception of what these grave things are that it will be a service to all parties if you will let me state them. I know that in the *Pall Mall Gazette* I must be brief, or I would quote more fully the passages of Mr. Stanley's letters which contain, or concern the indictment against him. Let it be well understood that this indictment has nothing to do with the traveller's perilous and gallant running fight in his descent of the Congo; or with British flags, or even with explosive bullets; nor am I discussing the right of the proprietors of two newspapers to send a military expedition into Africa. Yet I have seen or heard all these matters brought up as if each in turn were the

real question at issue. They only tend to the begging of the real question.

Mr. Stanley's first letters from the Victoria Nyanza were published in October and November, 1875. The narrative which these letters contain was brought before a crowded meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, November 29th, 1875, and was received with loud applause. It did, no doubt, contain things that made a painful impression upon many minds; such as the extensive visitation of fire and slaughter with which Mr. Stanley and his company avenged a hostile demonstration in the Leewumbu Valley, and his exceeding readiness to inflict death when coasting the eastern shores of the Victoria Nyanza. But there was nothing for which a plausible defence could not be urged; once granted the right to which I have alluded. Even at that time, however, voices (not mine) were raised publicly in condemnation (see, *e.g.*, a letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the day following the meeting).

A second series of Mr. Stanley's letters appeared in the *Telegraph* during August, 1876. The first of these letters entered into details, omitted in the former series, of Stanley's voyage along the western shores of the Nyanza after his first visit to Uganda. Mr. Stanley, with a picked crew of eleven men, was in his boat, *Lady Alice*, having left the main body of the expedition encamped at the southern end of the lake, while he reconnoitred its circuit. The people of the Island Bambireh made a treacherous attempt to seize the boat and party, but both were saved by the traveller's courage and resource, though the oars were lost. The narrative proceeds:—

"The savages . . . came rushing like a whirlwind towards their canoes at the water's edge. I discharged my elephant rifle, with its two large conical balls, into their midst; and then assisting one of the crew into the boat, told him to help his fellows in while I continued to fight. My double-barrelled shot gun, loaded with buckshot, was next discharged with terrible effect; for, without drawing a single bow or launching a single spear, they fell back up the slope of the hill. . . . Twice in succession I succeeded in dropping men determined on

launching the canoes, and, seeing the sub-chief who had commanded the party that took the drum, took deliberate aim with my elephant rifle at him. That bullet, as I have since been told, killed the chief and two others who happened to be standing a few paces behind him. . . . On getting out of the cove we saw two canoes loaded with men coming out in pursuit. . . . I permitted them to approach within 100 yards of us, and this time I used the elephant rifle with explosive balls. Four shots killed five men and sank the canoes. . . . When the savages counted their losses they found fourteen dead and wounded with ball and buckshot, which, although I should consider to be very dear payment for the robbery of eight ash oars and a drum, was barely equivalent, in fair estimation, to the intended massacre of ourselves."—*Daily Telegraph*, August 7, 1876, p. 2.

This would seem to be pretty sufficient chastisement. Mr. Stanley did not think so. Having succeeded in rejoining his camp at Usukuma, at the south end of the lake, and having provided a number of canoes, by measures of a very high-handed character which space forbids me to detail, Mr. Stanley proceeded—this time with his whole following—on his second voyage to Uganda. He now says:—

"Remembering the bitter injuries I had received from the savages of Bambireh, and the death by violence and starvation we had so narrowly escaped, I resolved unless the natives made amends for their cruelty and treachery, to make war on them. . . . I then despatched a message to the natives of Bambireh to the effect that, if they delivered their King and the two principals under him to my hands, I would make peace with them. At the same time, not trusting quite the success of this, I sent a party to summon the King of Iroba, who very willingly came, with three of his chiefs, to save his people from the horrors of war. Upon their arrival I put them in chains, and told the canoe men that the price of their freedom was the capture of the King of Bambireh and his two principal chiefs. The natives of Bambireh treated my message with contempt; but the next morning the men of Iroba brought the King of Bambireh to me, who was at once chained heavily, while the King of Iroba and his people were released. . . . A message was also sent to Antari, King of Thangiro, on the mainland,

to whom Bambireh was tributary, requesting him to redeem his island from war. Antari sent his son and two chiefs to treat with us, who told us many falsehoods, and had treachery written on their faces. They brought a few bunches of bananas as an earnest of what the King intended to give; but I thought that a bird in the hand would be worth a thousand false promises; and accordingly his son and his two companions were detained as hostages for the appearance of the two chiefs of Bambireh.'

Mr. Stanley now fell in with seven large canoes belonging to King Mtesa, of Uganda, and persuaded the chief of the party, Sabadu by name, to join him with his squadron. The whole narrative should be read; but I can only extract the most important passages:—

"Two days after his arrival Sabadu sent his Waganda to Bambireh to procure food. The savages would not give them any, but attacked them, wounding eight and killing a chief of Katawas, a neighbour of Antari, which gave me another strong reason why Bambireh should be punished. Accordingly, next morning I prepared a force of 280 men, 50 muskets, with 230 spearmen, and placed them in eighteen canoes. . . . Perceiving that the savages of Bambireh were too strong for me to attack in the plantain grove, I made for the opposite shore of the bay, where there were bare slopes covered with short green grass. The enemy, perceiving my intention to disembark, rose from their coverts and ran along the hills to meet us, which was precisely what I wished they would do, and accordingly I ordered my force to paddle slowly so as to give them time. In half an hour the savages were all assembled in knots and groups; and after approaching within a hundred yards of the beach, I formed my line of battle. . . . Having anchored each canoe so as to turn its broadside to the shore, I ordered a volley to be fired at one group, which numbered about fifty, and the result was several killed and many wounded. The savages, perceiving our aim, and the danger of standing together, separated themselves, and advanced to the water's edge, slinging stones and shooting arrows. I then ordered the canoes to advance within fifty yards of the shore, and to fire at close quarters. After an hour the savages saw that they could not defend themselves, and retreated up the slope, where they continued still exposed to our

bullets. I then caused the canoes to come together, and told them to advance in a body to the beach, as if about to disembark. This caused the enemy to make an effort to repulse our landing; and accordingly hundreds came down with their spears ready on the launch. When they were close enough the bugle sounded a halt, and another volley was fired into the spearmen, which had such a disastrous effect that they retired far away, and our work of chastisement was consummated. Not many cartridges were fired, but as the savages were so exposed, on a slope covered with only short grass, and as the sun in the afternoon was directly behind us and in their faces, the loss was great. Forty-two were counted on the field lying dead, and over a hundred were seen to retire wounded, while on our side only two men suffered contusions from stones slung at us. I had now not only the King and one chief of Bambireh in my power, but I had the son of Antari and an important chief of his also, besides having punished the Bambireh natives most severely."

The letter just quoted was written apparently some two months after this attack on Bambireh, while its matter and style bear as little sign of haste as of compunction. In now re-reading and transcribing it my impression is even stronger than at first, that no scheme of slaughter was ever more astutely planned or more ruthlessly carried out. It remains for Mr. Stanley to give the justification. He was not on this occasion running the gauntlet between two hostile river banks, as afterwards upon the Congo. The narrative neither shows nor urges any need for his revisiting Bambireh, except for the purpose of wreaking what was not, for aught that appears, punishment, nor even retaliation—these had been inflicted—but revenge. It is not wonderful that the tribes of the Nyanza regard armed foreigners with suspicion, aversion and dread. Mr. Stanley himself, in one of his earlier letters, tells us why. The people of Ugeyeya, a country on the eastern shore, are, he says, "a timid and suspicious race—and are loth to talk to strangers, as the Arab slave-dealers of Pangani have not taught them to love people carrying guns" (Pr. R.G.S., xx., 146). Will they love such people better now? In the paragraph

from which I have just quoted we read that Sungoro, a slaver, was then constructing in Ukesewe a dhow of twenty or thirty tons burden, to carry on his business more actively. Was this likely to induce the people of Bambireh to welcome a strange crew? And when "treachery" is so dwelt on, the people of Bambireh, of Iroba, of Ihangiro, judging by the narrative, may well have something to say on their part. *Dolus* perhaps is *virtus* only when employed on the white man's side.

It is not a pleasant office to come forward questioning such acts on the part of a man who has done great deeds and shown great qualities. Mr. Stanley's faithful adherence to the people who had faithfully served him, till he saw them safe home to Zanzibar, is (for example) a rare and noble trait of character. I did not feel the unpleasant office to be any task of mine till roused by what seemed to me the determination of a strong party in the Geographical Society to silence the temperate, steadfast, and persistent endeavours of an honourable man (Mr. Henry Hyndman), to call attention to the subject. (See Pr. R.G.S., xxi., pp. 58 seqq.) We, who have questioned these acts, as described by the chief actor, have been called malignant Turcophiles or Russophiles — which was it?—or personal enemies of Stanley's, or haters of Americans, and so forth. Let not Mr. Stanley be misled by such rubbish. The impression that his own statement of his own acts has made on the present writer it has also made on thousands of plain-sailing people in England and America, who are neither fanatics nor factious persons, and who would have gladly joined in honouring his great achievements, but *cannot* as things are.

Mr. Stanley's name and fame as a discoverer will now last as long as European literature lasts. On the sufficiency of the justification of the acts which have formed the subject of this letter will largely depend whether that enduring name is to have a place on the honourable roll which bears those of Columbus, Cook, and Livingstone, or on another of a different character.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,
H. YULE.

January 25th.

SLAVERY IN NATAL.

THE latest accounts from this Colony detail a state of things in the highest degree discreditable to the English authorities. Under the form of administering native law the machinery of a British Court is being employed to sanction the sale of women for cattle, and to give effect to contracts which, we should have supposed, would, from their very nature, have been null and void. The promise originally made was that if we established a judicial machinery for the interpretation and enforcement of native law no customs would be recognised which were manifestly opposed to morality and civilisation. But this promise has not been fulfilled, and thus slavery as certainly exists to-day, under the British flag in Natal, as it does in Brazil or Cuba. We learn that the Aborigines' Protection Society have received a mass of evidence on this subject which they are about to lay before the public. We hope that Mr. W. McArthur will be able to find an early day for a discussion in the House of Commons on the question of our political and judicial relations with the natives of Natal. A pamphlet, written last year by Mr. Akerman, M.L.C., showed very clearly the anomalous nature of those relations; and it is, we think, impossible that the Colonial Minister—whoever may be the occupant of that post—can defend the employment of British authority and British Courts to perpetuate the kindred evils of slavery and polygamy.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT HAYES' MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

"THE withdrawal of the troops from the South was effected deliberately, and with solicitous care for the peace and good order of society, and the protection of the property and persons, and every right of all classes of citizens.

"The results that have followed are, indeed, significant and encouraging. All apprehension of danger from remitting these States to local self-government is dispelled, and a most salutary change in the minds of the people has begun, and is in progress, in every part of that section of the

country once the theatre of unhappy civil strife, substituting for suspicion, distrust, and aversion, concord, friendship, and patriotic attachment to the Union. No unprejudiced mind will deny that the terrible and often fatal collisions which, for several years, have been of frequent occurrence, and have agitated and alarmed the public mind, have almost entirely ceased, and that a spirit of mutual forbearance and hearty national interest has succeeded. There has been a general re-establishment of order, and of the orderly administration of justice: instances of remaining lawlessness have become of rare occurrence, political turmoil and turbulence have disappeared, useful industries have been resumed, public credit in the Southern States has been greatly strengthened, and the encouraging benefits of a revival of commerce between the sections of the country lately embroiled in civil war, are fully enjoyed. Such are some of the results already attained, upon which the country is to be congratulated. They are of such importance that we may with confidence patiently await the desired consummation, that will surely come with the natural progress of events.

"It may not be improper here to say that it should be our fixed and unalterable determination to protect, by all available and proper means, under the Constitution and the laws, the lately emancipated race in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges; and I urge upon those to whom heretofore the coloured people have sustained the relation of bondmen, the wisdom and justice of humane and liberal local legislation with respect to their education and general welfare. A firm adherence to the laws, both national and state, as to the civil and political rights of the coloured people, now advanced to full and equal citizenship, the immediate repression and sure punishment by the national and local authorities within their respective jurisdictions, of every instance of lawlessness toward them, is required for the security alike of both races, and is justly demanded by the public opinion of the country and the age. In this way the restoration of harmony and goodwill, and the complete protection of every citizen in the full enjoyment of every constitutional right, will surely be attained. Whatever authority rests with me to this end, I shall not hesitate to put forth. Whatever belongs

to the power of Congress and the jurisdiction of the Courts of the Union, they may confidently be relied upon to provide and perform. And to the Legislature, the Courts, and the Executive authorities of the several States, I earnestly appeal to secure by adequate, appropriate, and seasonable means, within their borders, these common and uniform rights of a united people which loves liberty, abhors oppression, and reveres justice. These objects are very dear to my heart. I shall continue most earnestly to strive for their attainment. The cordial co-operation of all classes, of all sections of the country, and of both races—is required for this purpose, and with these blessings assured, and not otherwise, we may safely hope to hand down our free institutions of government unimpaired, to the generations that will succeed us."

Extracts from a Paper read at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Missionary Association, by the Principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Virginia, U.S.A.

"THE negro is an infant in literature, but a graduate from the school of experience. He was fitted for freedom far better than was supposed, and candid Southerners admit that the race has done better than they dared to expect. The total products of the South have been greater than ever. A neighbour of mine, a Confederate Colonel, says that he gets one-third more from free than he ever did from slave labour.

"North and South have atoned for their guilty partnership; the language of those days is not the language for to-day. To denounce the South as a whole befits only a demagogue.

"In the South, during the past ten years, ideas have changed as in no equal period in the history of our race; the revolution has not been all external.

"Of the 4,000 free schools in Virginia, 1,100 are for blacks, employing more than 600 coloured teachers, the rest being white. They cost annually in taxes about 350,000 dols., four-fifths of which come from the pockets of the whites, who thus voluntarily supply more money to the cause of negro education than the entire annual revenue of the American Missionary Association.

"It means progress, that Georgia has for years given to the coloured University at Atlanta 8,000 dols., and that Virginia has given the Hampton Institute 10,000 dols. annually, officered and controlled as they both are by Northern teachers, and filled with students, all of whom vote in opposition to the party that aids their education; that the latter State had in full operation a free school system five years before her new Constitution required it; that the Presbytery of Virginia and other Southern religious bodies, in their actions and in their organs, are recognising the genuine needs of the freedmen, urging effort in their behalf, and are making friendly overtures to workers from the North. In old times thousands of good men and women in the South taught their slaves the Way of Life, and many are doing it now. General Stonewall Jackson taught a coloured Sunday-school twenty years, and Colonel Preston continues the good work. There is yet stout opposition, and there are mountains of prejudice; to be taxed for negro education is not yet counted a luxury. The sluggish, thinly populated back country, has changed but little; and entire regions not at all. In the cities, with their quicker life, more active thought, and commerce with the world, they have better discerned the signs of the times. In Virginia to-day no politician dare oppose free schools in his canvass for the popular vote. The Southern leaders in educational ideas are among the best men in the land; they have struggled in a way not dreamed of at the North; while in a minority they have the earnestness in a just cause that insures success."

SELF-HELP AMONG THE NEGROES.

(From an address by Col. J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Va., in Syracuse, N. Y.)

"Two things have been marked characteristics of the coloured race since their emancipation. One is their persistent attachment to their churches, and their willingness to make efforts and sacrifices to secure church buildings. I give, as an illustration, an example coming under my own observation. In the town of Lexington, Virginia, with a population of 3,000 or thereabouts, there are eight church edifices: for the whites—Presbyterian,

Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist and Roman Catholic. For the blacks—two Baptist and one Methodist. Of these eight, the one that reflects most credit upon the congregation that erected it, is the First Coloured Baptist Church. It accommodates five hundred hearers. It has a basement ten feet high, built of solid limestone. The superstructure is a well-proportioned frame, tastefully painted, neatly finished within with pulpit, platform, stained benches, chandelier and carpeted aisles. The building is surrounded by a cupola-shaped belfry, which waits for its bell till times are easier, or some liberal friend is moved to make a gift of one. The whole cost not less than 3,500 dols. All this has been done by a congregation every member of which is a day labourer, with only his two hands to depend upon for the support of himself and his family. They have not had help from abroad, and not much from the resident white population, whose resources are strained to kept up their own organisations. They did it without credit, for how could *they* borrow?"

EGYPT AND THE WAR.

(To the Editor of *The Times*.)

SIR,—In *The Times* of to-day your Alexandria Correspondent truly foretells the fate of the negro levies who have just sailed to encounter the frosts of Bulgaria. It is now fifty years since Ibrahim Pasha landed his Nubian troops in the Morea, who were said to have perished in the first light frosts just like vegetable exotics from the tropical zone.

In what is Egypt better than Turkey, when its ruler can perpetrate this senseless and purposeless inhumanity, affording proof, if such were wanting, that where the slave-trade and slavery exist civilisation is but an empty name?

Nor is it possible to absolve our own Foreign Office from blame in this matter. Knowing, as it must know, that the despatch at this season of these unhappy Africans to face the snows of the Balkans must prove a positive burden to Turkey, alike injurious to Egypt and her creditors, and repugnant to common humanity, it ought to have instructed Mr. Vivian to remonstrate against it. It had been enough that the

Khedive has made wholesale offerings of his subjects on the shrine of Mammon, without sacrificing these hecatombs on the altar of Moloch.

Yours truly,

EDMUND STURGE.

Devonshire House Hotel, Jan. 3rd.

(From "The Times" Correspondent.)
Alexandria, Jan. 13th.

Notwithstanding the rumours of an armistice and the chances of peace, Egypt continues her warlike preparations, and they have received a fresh impulse since the arrival last week of the Turkish Envoy, Kiamil Bey, on a special mission to the Khedive. A kind of forced levy is going on all over the country. The reserves are all called out, and old soldiers of the time of Mehemet Ali have even been forced to resume their trade. The poorer Arabs of this city are in a kind of panic. Each evening the police have made raids in the streets and have even entered houses. Rumour counts by thousands the number taken. A friend has just told me how two nights ago he met a number of men being marched off to the main police station, and a crowd of women followed, beating their breasts, and crying and wailing. I remember seeing a similar sight at Cairo, and their demonstrative grief is most touching. Their sorrow has no reserve and their shrill voices unite in noisy lamentations, such as "Why do you leave me?" "Who will take care of me?" "Who will keep the house now?" "Why do you go, O camel of the house?" But the wailing of the women does not stop the enlisting of the men. They are passed on from the police station to the barracks, and thence sent by rail to Cairo to be lost in the ranks of the Regular Army.

It is painful to think of this legal kidnapping and forced service in a country where the people are too few for the proper cultivation of the soil. But, after all, Egypt is part of the Ottoman Empire, the very existence of which is now in peril. At the beginning of the struggle it seemed the policy of the Government at Cairo to send as few troops as was consistent with the duty of a vassal and to plead Egypt's obligations to Europe as a reason for not making greater sacrifices. Thus, while she

recognised the suzerainty of Turkey, Egypt would not provoke Europe by any failure to pay her public creditors. This policy seemed wise and justifiable. Whatever the result of the war no complaint could be made of Egypt, and in case of any geographical redistribution she would be entitled to remain *in statu quo ante bellum*. But as the fight has become fiercer in Bulgaria and Armenia, feelings of race and religion have thrust aside all meaner motives of expediency, and Egypt, as regards the war, is now almost *plus royaliste que le roi*. The authorities at Cairo are certainly as warlike as the Pashas of Stamboul. It is a singular state of things to have so bellicose a Government despotically disposing of a people who view the war with apathetic indifference, and who think a thousand times more of their corn and cotton crops than of the fate of the Mosque of Saint Sofia.

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

(From *The Times*, Jan. 25th, 1878.)

Captain Malcolm, R.N., lately sent by the British Government to assist Egypt in the suppression of the slave-trade in the Red Sea, has been made a Pasha, the fourth English Pasha in the Egyptian service. He left Suez last week on his mission with two vessels of the Egyptian Navy. He first proceeds to Massowah to concert a joint plan of action with Gordon Pasha, the Governor-General of the Soudan. The following decrees concerning the slave-trade were published in the *Moniteur* of last Saturday, and will all interest the English public:—

"We, Khedive of Egypt, whereas a Convention was signed at Alexandria, the 4th of August, 1877, between the Government of Great Britain and Ireland and my Government concerning the suppression of the slave-trade, have decreed and decree:—

"Art. 1. The transport of slaves on any ship whatever is forbidden, whether the slaves are sailors or passengers, whether they are intended to be sold or exchanged.

"Art. 2. Every vessel for the transport of slaves, having, for example, a deck set aside for this kind of transport, or having on board irons or water barrels more than sufficient for the crew and passengers, will be considered as intended for the slave-trade.

"Art. 3. The transit of slaves over Egypt—

tian territory by land or sea, with the object of either sale or transfer, or any depôt of slaves in any part of the country, is also forbidden.

Art. 4. The Judges we shall name to carry out this law will have jurisdiction in whatever part of our territory they may be. They will have the power of naming any person as clerk to assist them.

Art. 5. Whosoever is qualified to seize a ship, a slave depôt, or a slave gang, must, on making a seizure, place in the hands of the Judge a report under oath. If he is not in the Egyptian service he must point out in his report the article of the Slave Convention under which he has acted. The report must contain the names of the witnesses, the description of the ship, the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, the number of the slaves and passengers.

Art. 6. The Judge must summon before him, at a day and hour named, the person who has effected the seizure, the subject of seizure, the witnesses, and all persons who can give information. Notice of twenty-four hours as a *minimum*, and seven days as a *maximum* must be given from the date of the report under oath.

Art. 7. The inquiry may (*sic*) be conducted orally.

Art. 8. The sentence of the Judge shall be final, and transmitted by him to the Minister of Justice.

Art. 9. The Judge shall have power to inflict the following sentences: 1. Confiscation of the ship, cargo, and slaves; 2. Fine of £20 as a *maximum*; 3. Three months' imprisonment as a *maximum*; 4. Payment of the costs as fixed by the Judge.

Art. 10. The Judge shall have power to send the parties before the Minister of War.

Art. 11. In the case of an arbitrary or unjust seizure, the person making the seizure may be ordered to pay to the injured party 50 centimes a day per ton, and an indemnity of 3 per cent. on the value of the cargo, as valued by the Judge.

"Cairo, Jan. 1, 1878."

"ISMAIL."

This is followed by a second decree, which runs thus:—

"We, Khedive of Egypt, have decreed and decree,—

Art. 1. A service is established for the suppression of the slave-trade in the Red

Sea, and on the coast which is under our rule.

Art. 2. His Excellency Malcolm Pasha is appointed Director-General.

Art. 3. Our Minister of Justice is charged with the execution of this Decree.

"Cairo, Jan. 1.

"ISMAIL."

A third decree follows:—

"We, Khedive of Egypt, have decreed and decree:—

"His Excellency Malcolm Pasha, Director-General of the service for the suppression of the slave-trade in the Red Sea and on the coasts which are under rule, is appointed Judge, with the powers set forth in our decree of this day.

"Cairo.

"ISMAIL."

Finally comes this notice:—

"By decree of His Highness the Khedive Captain George John Malcolm, of the British Navy, has been raised to the rank of General of Brigade."

On the foregoing the *Times* has the following remark:—

"Another peaceful victory has been won in the long war which England has waged against the slave-trade. We published yesterday the text of three important decrees which pledged the Egyptian Government to the adoption of vigorous measures for the suppression of the traffic in human flesh and blood. The execution of these measures, moreover, is to be intrusted by the Khedive to two Englishmen, the one Gordon Pasha—'Chinese Gordon,' now Governor-General of the Soudan, and the other Captain Malcolm, of the British Navy, who was lately sent by our Government to the Red Sea to assist the Egyptian authorities in controlling the traffic, and who has just been promoted to high honorary rank in the Egyptian service. Of course, there is always the possibility in Egypt, as in every other despotically-governed country, that an intrigue or a caprice may suddenly reverse a well-considered and publicly approved policy; nor have indications been wanting that powerful influences in Egypt are resolved to defeat the advancing movement of humanity by indirect, if not by open, resistance. Among the counsellors of the Khedive there were notoriously, down to a very recent period, and there may be still, many who, while declining to occupy an

avowed attitude of hostility towards the opinion of civilised Europe in this matter, were skilful in devising schemes by which an apparent compliance with philanthropic ideas may be rendered practically futile. So long as the work remains in the hands of English officers, we may be sure that it will be honestly and zealously carried out. Assuredly men like Gordon Pasha and Captain Malcolm would never consent to retain responsibility for proceedings which suggested a suspicion that the Government was playing fast and loose with its pledges. It is possible, therefore, to measure, roughly, but accurately enough, the sincerity of the Khedive in the promises he has now given by the degree of support which will be granted to Gordon Pasha and Captain Malcolm, and the confidence those officers feel in the success of their labours."—(See *Reporter* for November, 1877.)

"The decrees now published are the result of a Convention, signed at Alexandria between the representatives of this country and the Egyptian Government. They carry forward a step further the policy upon which England entered in the lifetime of the generation that was aroused to a sense of the horrors of the slave-trade by the sincere passion of Clarkson and Wilberforce. From the hands of enthusiasts that policy passed into the hands of statesmen, and during many years Liberal and Conservative Ministers alike pursued it with an ardour which was often neglectful of what seemed the immediate political interests of England. We became embroiled with the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Brazilians, in our efforts to impose the renunciation of the slave-trade as an article of public law upon all civilised nations. We earned the detestation of the Southern politicians who down to the election of 1860 were dominant at Washington, and who dreamed of strengthening the slave-power by the removal of restrictions upon the importation of servile labour from Africa. When the civilised nations, one by one, were forced to yield by the pressure of public opinion and the strength of the British fleets on every sea, the barbarous and semi-barbarous tribes and potentates of Africa remained to be coerced. We have spent large sums of money on the maintenance of war vessels upon the West Coast, where the slave trade by sea has been almost suppressed. On the East Coast we

have hitherto been less successful, though diplomacy has there achieved more than force, and recent arrangements with the Sultan of Zanzibar have closed one main channel through which the traffic used to flow. But while the slave-trade was permitted to exist in Egypt, it was a vain boast to say that Africa was even near deliverance. The trade which was carried on by way of the Nile and the Red Sea was the principal source by which negro slavery was maintained as an institution in the Turkish Empire. From Nubia, from the Soudan, and from the shores of the great lakes, the man-hunters and man-sellers brought up regular supplies of domestic slaves, many of them destined for the misery and degradation to which polygamy dooms both men and women. Though the treatment of these household chattels was more tolerable than that of predial slaves, it was impossible to insist with a fair show of equity upon the absolute suppression of the traffic in other parts of Africa, while Egypt continued to be a recognised *entrepot* for the import and export of such a commodity."

The Cairo correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* writes that "Captain George Malcolm, who has been placed by the British Government at the disposal of the Khedive, to command the squadron in the Red Sea for the suppression of the slave-trade, was received by the Khedive on the 23rd of last month. The Khedive granted, in presence of Mr. Vivian, the British Consul-General, all the demands of Captain Malcolm, and also the right to require from the Egyptian governors on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Bay of Aden, all the aid which may appear necessary to him. Captain Malcolm has accepted his office on condition that he might resign it if circumstances arose rendering the strict execution of Clause 6 of the treaty, concluded on the 4th of last August between the British Government and the Khedive, impossible. The difficulty, however, presents itself that more than a third of the coasts mentioned in Clause 6 are not under the dominion of Egypt, but under the direct dominion of the Porte, which has indeed, acknowledged the treaty, but taken no obligation with regard to it. The correspondent concludes that a right to arrest, examine, and seize Turkish vessels on

suspicion that they have on board slaves destined for sale, will not be deducible from the clauses of the treaty."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, January 5, 1878.

THE FIJI ISLANDS

UNDER SIR ARTHUR GORDON.

(From the "Daily News," Jan. 7, 1878.)

SIR ARTHUR GORDON has had great difficulties to contend with in Fiji; but on the whole he may congratulate himself on having established in that colony social and political institutions which will give the native race a better chance of holding their ground than they have enjoyed in any other part of the antipodes. Sir Arthur, indeed, has not hesitated to check the development of sugar and cotton cultivation, and of other industries, rather than allow the Fijians to degenerate into the condition of slaves or serfs. We think that in taking this course he deserves to be supported by public opinion at home; for if he had permitted unsound economic theories to gain a footing in Fiji at the outset of its existence as a British colony, it is tolerably certain that future governors would have had to pay the penalty of such a mistake. His best efforts, and those of the European magistrates acting under his control, have been directed to check the irregularities of labour agents, who have resorted to every conceivable trick to cajole or bully the Fijians into leaving their own homes for the cotton or sugar plantations. These persons have not hesitated to bribe the town officers or chiefs to consent to what was really a levy of forced labour. They have beguiled the women away by promises that they should live in a state of freedom from restraint; and, at a pinch, the more unscrupulous recruiters have even imposed upon the natives by pretending that the Government had armed them with power to enforce their demand for labourers. The Governor has had to take vigorous action against these fraudulent proceedings, while, at the same time, he has naturally felt constrained to show to the planters that he sympathised with any reasonable complaints on their part as to the scarcity of labour, and desired to consult their interests, so far as he could do so with safety. The difficulties of his position were aggravated by the fact that, owing to bad

seasons and other causes, a large number of imported Polynesian labourers, whose term of service had expired, had received no wages, and were unprovided with return passages to their own islands. Sir Arthur Gordon determined at all costs to keep faith with these people; and his doing so, we think, reflects no little credit upon his administration. The return of the islanders to their own homes is a measure which is certain to bear fruit in the feeling of respect and confidence with which it will induce the Polynesians generally to regard the British Government. If the Governor had allowed the time-expired labourers to remain in Fiji, their friends and relatives in the islands, ignorant of their fate, and only knowing that the white man had broken his promise to bring them back, would probably have retaliated hereafter upon unoffending missionaries or boats' crews, and thus have revenged perfidy by massacre. Sir Arthur Gordon, as her Majesty's High Commissioner in the South Pacific, owes a duty to civilisation extending far beyond the narrow limits of Fiji: and, so far as we can judge, he has in this matter shown a praiseworthy determination to uphold the best traditions of the Government whose representative he is.

Another interesting feature in Fijian administration is the extent to which the Governor is ruling by and through the natives, and employing their own ideas or customs to enable them to work out the problem of their civilisation. Once a year the great Council, consisting of the Governor and Chiefs, meets for the purpose of receiving reports from the Roko Tui (or deputy of the Governor) in each province, and of deliberating on every subject of interest to the natives. In 1876 this Council met for seventeen days, with the most satisfactory results. Provincial Councils, under the presidency of the Roko Tui, meet twice a year; and the Bulis, or Chiefs, are required on these occasions to make detailed reports concerning the state of affairs in their respective villages. Native stipendiary magistrates sit in both provincial and district courts to try prisoners for offences against the law. Chiefs guilty of acts of oppression are liable to be charged with what in the native language is called *vaka-scurara*, and if convicted the Governor is empowered to deal with them according to their

deserts. Every able-bodied man is secured a plantation of bananas and yams, but he is bound by law to keep it in cultivation, or to undergo imprisonment. A man finding property is obliged to hand it over to the chief of the town, or he will be dealt with as a thief; and if under pressure of hunger he takes food from a garden by the wayside, he is required to make known the fact to the chief of the next town. A regulation for the prevention of evil-speaking has been adopted, which savours of the legislation that the Puritans of New England sought in vain to establish in their model commonwealth: "Whoever shall spread reports tending to give rise to trouble or ill-feeling among the people of the land as a whole, or between individuals, shall be imprisoned with hard labour for any term not exceeding six months." Offences against the moral law on the part of husband or wife, if legally proved, are to be punished with twelve months' imprisonment. In less heinous cases the man is to suffer three months' imprisonment with hard labour, while "the girl may be sentenced to plait mats, make malo, fishing nets, or pottery at her own home during three months, as the Court may direct." This again is like a page borrowed from the old statute-book of Massachusetts. Before a man is allowed to marry he is compelled to answer twenty-two questions of a most searching and even inquisitorial character. Compulsory education is strictly enforced, every child between six and twelve years of age being ordered to attend school; while children over seven who play truant or otherwise misconduct themselves, "may be whipped with *sasa* by the teacher." What *sasa* is the law does not explain, but no doubt it corresponds to forms of corporal punishment well known in other countries besides Fiji. The law with regard to the observance of Sunday is thus set forth:—"It is lawful on Sunday to cook food, to work in an emergency, to save life or property, to bathe, and to take exercise; but it is not lawful to perform ordinary work for hire or to trade." These are specimens of regulations which have been passed by the Native Regulation Board during the last few months.

The Fijians appear to be, on the whole, an industrious people, but there is ample use for their labour in their own villages, and in the fields and plantations owned by

themselves or their chiefs. The Europeans who grow cotton or sugar in Taviuni and other islands are therefore dependent, to a large extent, upon external sources for the means of cultivating their plantations. The Polynesian labour traffic has led to so many abuses that its continuance, even under official supervision, is to the last degree undesirable. Sir Arthur Gordon has therefore applied to the Government of India for permission to introduce Indian coolies into Fiji. No doubt the requisite authorisation will be obtained, but many persons entertain grave misgivings as to the expediency of extending the indentureship system, which in other colonies has notoriously provoked grave scandals. It has been suggested that Chinese labour would be best adapted for the peculiar circumstances of Fiji. The Chinaman can work in any climate, hot or cold; he is frugal and industrious, and at the same time he easily assimilates with any other people, whatever their colour, religion, or race. Queensland is turning away the Chinese from her shores, or subjecting those whom she cannot expel to disabilities of an oppressive character. Why should not Sir Arthur Gordon give them the chance of making their own and other people's fortunes in Fiji? The Chinese, whatever faults they possess, always give a good day's work for a very moderate rate of pay; and as a regular supply of labour appears essential to the prosperity of Fiji, it seems a pity that the shiploads of Chinamen who are now being driven from Queensland should not find their way to a country where they are really wanted.

THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR IN FIJI.

IN spite of remonstrances, and of the terrible drawbacks to the system of contract immigration, it has been resolved to introduce Indian coolies into Fiji. The planters seem to prefer Polynesian labourers, but the better treatment received by such in Queensland, has naturally drawn them toward that colony. So attempts are now being made to obtain a supply of coolies from India, and a debt will be incurred on the resources of Fiji in order to favour the planting interest. The partiality for the element of compulsion involved in contracts with an inferior race seems inveterate. Heavy responsibilities are incurred to avoid

free labour. The voluntary emigration of Chinese to Queensland is caused by the prospect of good wages, and of protection to life and property. Why not by similar inducements, induce Chinese coolies to flock to Fiji? There need then be no cost of importation or of return. But under such circumstances there could be no compulsion. The prospect of good wages, &c., would suffice to procure an ample supply of labour. It is strange to hear men talk of the duty of Government to find labour for the advantage of a few planters. It would be as reasonable to demand of Government such food and clothing and capital as may be required by other sections of society. The claim is preposterous. We deeply regret the step taken by Sir Arthur Gordon, and are confident that the attempt will end in Fiji as in Jamaica, with a ruinous island debt and a dissatisfied and unfortunate generation of planters.

MADAGASCAR.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE RECENT PROCLAMATION RESPECTING MOZAMBIQUE SLAVES.

In the November number of the *Reporter*, p. 315, was given the text of a Proclamation by the Queen of Madagascar, issued on June 20th, 1877, in which all the Mozambique slaves in the Island were declared to be free; and also a full account of the ceremonies which took place at Antananarivo in connection with its publication.

As a Proclamation issued in 1874, and bearing on the same subject, but with a more limited scope, has proved to be almost ineffective, the efficiency of the new Proclamation has been doubted by some of the members of Protestant Missions in the Island, while opposite views are held by others.

This difference of opinion, with respect both to the probable results of the Proclamation, and to the *bona fides* of the Prime Minister in the part which he has taken in relation to it, has formed the subject of several letters which have been published in the *English Independent* newspaper, in which these opposing views are very fully presented.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, while abstaining from expressing an opinion on the question in debate, have

thought it advisable to lay this correspondence, so far as it relates to the two topics mentioned above, before the readers of the *Reporter*, leaving them to form their own judgment on the subject. The extracts are as follow:—

FROM MR. LOUIS STREET.

"To the Editor of the *English Independent*.

"Sir,—My attention has been called to a letter which appeared in your issue of Feb. 8th, from one of your correspondents in this country, under the signature of 'Veritas.' The letter of your correspondent is a faithful, straightforward, and manly representation of some of the difficulties with which Christian missionaries in Madagascar have to deal.

"'Veritas' first touches upon the subject of the importation of Mozambique slaves into this country, and the persistent breach of the treaty with Great Britain during the past twelve years, all of which I can confirm. If, however, he had said that 'gangs of newly-imported slaves' have been seen in houses within gunshot of the palace, which were brought up for sale, instead of 'not a hundred yards away,' his words would have been more literally accurate. I myself heard that one of these gangs was lodged in a compound belonging to the *Chief Secretary of State*, which is a few miles out of the city. I got into my palanquin and went out to see them. The persons in charge told me that about forty had been kept there for several weeks, but they had been removed into the capital, and that I would find them a short distance from the palace. I with others went to see them. The greater number had been sold, but we found sixteen or eighteen left, some of whom did not understand enough of the Malagasy language to converse with us. With others we could communicate with no great difficulty, and we also talked with their Arab masters. We then informed the Government officers, who feigned great surprise, and sent some of their subordinates to arrest the Arabs, who were brought to a sham trial before the *Chief Secretary of State*, in whose compound the slaves had been previously lodged. The trial was put off from day to day for several weeks, until every one was weary with watching the progress of the case, and then the Arabs and their slaves were quietly sent away, no one knows where. But within the past few

weeks, a beautiful little story has been put out by the Government for one of our missionaries to send to England, about this same gang of Mozambiques. The story says that they were all set free, and permission given them to stay in the country if they chose to do so. They were then sent away to a distant part of the Island, and orders given to one of the provincial governors to see that they were provided with rice grounds free of cost. Now all of this looks very well on paper, but unfortunately for the poor missionary the time is nearly past when the Christian public in England can be successfully gulled by these beautiful little tales about the *model Government in Madagascar*.

"Nearly three years ago, under pressure from England, a public proclamation was issued, freeing all the Mozambique slaves who have been brought into the country since the treaty was signed about twelve years ago. If this proclamation had been made in good faith, many tens of thousands of Mozambiques would have been set free; but the proclamation was made for the purpose of deceiving Englishmen, *not* for the purpose of freeing the Mozambiques. It was translated into English by one of our missionaries and sent home for publication; and, as might be expected, the Prime Minister was in great glee when he heard that his proclamation had been extensively copied in the English newspapers, and commented on to his praise. His purpose was accomplished and the British public blinded. Those of us who live in the centre of the Island do not know of a single Mozambique slave who ever gained his freedom under this proclamation. But after it the leading officers of the Government who were interested in the trade felt more secure, and the Arabs were increasingly bold to bring their newly-imported Mozambiques up to the Antananarivo slave-market for sale. When this proclamation was published in England, the opportunity was embraced to extol the character of Rainilaiarivony for this apparently noble act, and the enlightened policy of his Government, while in reality there was in the whole transaction more that was worthy of censure than of commendation.

"Since the letter of 'Veritas' was written, we have had a visit from an English gun-

boat, and another proclamation has been issued setting free all the Mozambique slaves in the country. It has been made under pressure from Great Britain, and if faithfully carried out, it is said, would free nearly 300,000 slaves. This proclamation, like the first one, has been translated into English by certain of our missionaries and sent home for publication; but the majority of the Mozambiques are no more free than they were previous to the proclamation. For several weeks before it was issued great preparations were made; many Mozambiques changed hands, being sold by the timid, and bought by those who had no faith in the sincerity of the Government, and who still hold them in slavery. They were mostly sent away to distant parts of the country, and when the proclamation was actually issued, there were probably less than two hundred Mozambiques left in the vicinity of the capital. These have been called up by the Government to have their names written down, and at the same time the inquiry has been made whether they prefer to continue in slavery or be made free. They have, for the most part, been terrified into choosing slavery to freedom, although a few young men have been sufficiently bold to claim it. But lest too many should think they are free, word has been sent out in a less ostentatious form that the Mozambiques are still to continue with their owners, lest they should suffer from the want of food, shelter, and clothing. A few hundred may (*perhaps*) gain their freedom, but it must altogether depend on the watchful eye of Great Britain whether their freedom will not be purchased at too dear a cost; so dear as to prevent any Mozambiques from accepting it, except under compulsion. How free the Mozambiques are since the proclamation was issued will be understood by the following incidents. Some of us desired to send a few men to the coast to bring up our stores, and we thought, as the Mozambiques were free, there would be no difficulty in hiring them for the purpose; but we were told that the road was guarded half way between here and the coast, and no Mozambiques would be allowed to go down without passports. We then applied to the Government for passports, but were told that no passports could be issued for Mozambiques without the names of their owners, that their consent might be obtained. We then sent

up the names of their owners, and received passports for the men just as we would for any other slaves. Again, one of our missionaries, about to set out for England with his family of little children, is desirous of taking a young girl for a nurse. The girl is a young Mozambique who was stolen from Africa, brought to the western coast by the Arabs, and sold to her present owner, who objects to her going to England without a pecuniary consideration, notwithstanding the girl has a legal right to her freedom. Her owner asked fifty dollars for her and half her wages while she was gone, but has finally consented to let her off by the promise of a less sum as a present. If such things can occur at the capital, under the immediate notice of Europeans, it can readily be imagined that in the distant provinces the status of the Mozambiques may not be very different from what it was previous to these proclamations, which have been made for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the British Government, and *not* for the purpose of setting free the slaves. A friend in one of the distant provinces writes as follows:—‘From the issuing of the proclamation, I have considered this last move in favour of the Mozambiques a perfect farce, they being still under Hova authority, and no provision made by the British Government for their protection, and no arrangements made for seeing that the promises of the Malagasy in the premises are carried out. Hence, in my opinion, those who are supposed to have been *benefited* by the proclamation are *worse off* than they were before; for they will be closer watched, harder worked, and more cruelly treated, because their owners will feel that they are liable to lose them at any time now, and hence they must get out of them all they can.’

“It is clear that the Malagasy do not intend to liberate their slaves unless forced to do so; and heretofore they have been quite successful in their endeavours to outwit English diplomacy. Year by year the curse of slavery is not marked by a looser, but by a stronger hold upon this nation. Ten years ago, an able-bodied man could be bought in the public slave-market at Antananarivo for 30 or 40 dollars. Even as late as five years ago, I knew a very strong young man, twenty-five years of age, and a good Christian preacher, who was sold for 30 dollars.

At the present time such would bring about 100 dollars in the public slave-market at Antananarivo, and fancy slaves as high as 150 or 200 dollars. With this increasing demand for slaves, although the importation of Mozambiques may be checked, it is not likely that it will entirely cease as long as there is domestic slavery in the island. It is impossible for the Malagasy Government to effectually guard a line of sea-coast more than a thousand miles in extent along the Mozambique Channel, even if it were disposed to do so. All of the adjacent territory is occupied by independent tribes, with only here and there a military fort which enables the Hovas to claim a nominal dominion over the whole island. The Government officers do not hesitate to speak of the frequent violation of the treaties they have made with foreign Powers on this and other points; one of whom not long ago said, in my presence, that they boasted within the palace of having broken their treaty with Great Britain more than forty times, and all they have ever yet seen is a little bluster on the part of the British Consul. The only practicable way of putting an end to slavery in this country is for Great Britain to occupy a slip of territory, and hold it as an asylum for those who desire their freedom.

“Yours very respectfully,

“LOUIS STREET.

“*Antananarivo, August 10th, 1877.*”

FROM MR. JOSEPH S. SEWELL, OF THE
FRIENDS' MISSION:

“To the Editor of the *English Independent*.

“Sir,—It was with great regret that I read two letters in your widely-circulated paper (Nov. 15 and 22), written by Louis Street, lately my fellow-missionary in Madagascar. It is very painful to write in opposition to one with whom I have been for many years a co-worker, but his letters appear to me to convey impressions of the state of things in Madagascar so contrary to the truth, and so damaging to the character of both missionaries and natives, that I do not feel justified in remaining altogether silent.

“I shall not attempt to answer them in detail; nearly every paragraph, and often almost every sentence, strikes me as unfair;

sometimes by a misconstruction of facts; sometimes by the omission of other facts that would materially modify, if not altogether change, the reader's judgment; sometimes by most unjustifiable inuendoes; and sometimes by exceptional illustrations, which appear intended to give a picture of the usual order of things. It is, therefore, impossible to do more than try to remove a few of the false impressions these letters are calculated to give. But before doing this, it is only fair to say that I do not attribute any dishonesty of purpose to Mr. Street, beyond that of withholding facts which would give a different colouring to his statements.

"Mr. Street's first letter will convey to many minds the impression that the British Government have interfered to put a stop to slavery in Madagascar, and that there is some treaty to this effect between the Queen of England and the Queen of Madagascar. It should be clearly understood that whilst the existing treaty binds the latter neither to import nor export slaves, it does not interfere with internal slavery. Nearly two years ago, during the discussions in Parliament respecting fugitive slaves, Lord Derby laid down in very clear language, the policy of the British Government in reference to the slave-trade, and explained the difference which had always been felt between interference with it, and interference with domestic slavery in independent countries. At that time serious fears were entertained by many in Madagascar that the English intended forcibly to set free all the slaves in the Island. Lord Derby's words were felt to be in season. They were translated into Malagasy by one of the missionaries, and widely circulated in the hope that they would show the groundlessness of these fears. I therefore extremely regret that Mr. Street should openly suggest that 'the only practicable way of putting an end to slavery in this island is for Great Britain to occupy a slip of country, and hold it as an asylum for those who desire their freedom.' I am surprised that a suggestion so fraught with mischief should come from a missionary, especially from one of the Society of Friends. All forcible attempts from without to interfere with slavery in Madagascar must be worse than fruitless. No attempts can be permanently effective unless they arise from the spread of true Christian

feeling and sound political economy among the natives themselves.

"The Prime Minister has in reality gone far beyond any demand made upon him by the British Government. It is true that the import of slaves, even to Hova ports, has not, unless during the past few months, been prevented; it is true that men of rank and position in the Government have encouraged this import; these facts have been before the British public for years. It is true also that the proclamation made in 1874 liberating those Africans who had been imported into the Island since the treaty of 1865, has been completely set at naught; but there is no proof that even this was 'made for the purpose of deceiving Englishmen.' We cannot in Europe carry out laws altogether at variance with public opinion; still less is it possible in a country like Madagascar. That proclamation, ineffective as it seemed to be, did real service; it certainly made it possible for the missionaries to speak more openly on the subject; this they did, and I do not hesitate to say that in the capital, at least, public opinion was influenced thereby. Without this proclamation, the second, issued on the 20th of June, *only two months* before Mr. Street wrote his letters, could not have been made. The Prime Minister laid great stress upon the utter want of attention paid to the first, in order to show the necessity for the second, by which all the African slaves in the Queen's dominions (much more likely, by-the-by, to be thirty thousand than three hundred thousand) were to be for ever set free.

"It is manifestly unjust to charge the Prime Minister with having made this proclamation 'for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the British Government,' because, in the opinion of the writer, it has not immediately taken effect. There are surely other ways of accounting for laws not being carried out besides the bad faith of the law-makers. I was not in the Island when the last proclamation was made, so I cannot speak of results, and, indeed, it is certainly too soon to do so with confidence, but I do not for one moment believe that it was meant to be a 'sham.'

"JOSEPH S. SEWELL."

FROM HENRY E. CLARK, MISSIONARY OF THE FRIENDS' FOREIGN MISSION ASSOCIATION.

"To the Editor of the *English Independent*.

"Sir,—Having carefully read the letter from the pen of Mr. J. S. Sewell, which appears in your issue of the 20th, I desire to say that, having very recently returned from Madagascar, I am in a position to confirm almost every word of that letter. I desire also to say that I feel as strongly as Mr. Sewell does that Mr. Street's letters are calculated to give a very wrong impression of the state of things in Madagascar, and thus do a serious hurt to the cause of Christianity in that Island. I hope, also, that I shall not be thought presumptuous in saying that I thoroughly can endorse the statement made by the directors of the London Missionary Society, which also appears in your issue of the 20th inst. With your permission, I will add a little to what has been said by Mr. Sewell, and it will be convenient to do so under the following principal heads:—

"1. *The proclamations with regard to the Mozambiques.* Mr. Street calls them 'sham proclamations freeing the Mozambiques,' and he implies that there are Christian missionaries who have used the 'power of the Press to whitewash the characters of wicked men, merely because they are rulers.' I am ignorant to whom Mr. Street alludes in these words; but I do plead guilty of sending home a translation of the first proclamation, issued three years ago, for the purpose of liberating the African slaves, called by the general name of Mozambiques, and which was practically inoperative. But why was it thus inoperative? In the first place, I believe that the Prime Minister hardly expected it to be anything else; and it is not difficult to see why. Let us examine the question a little closely. The treaty with England prohibiting the importation of Mozambiques was made in 1865; but, notwithstanding this, thousands of slaves have been imported into the Island, and since the date of the treaty. But I believe also that this has been entirely against the wish of the Queen and her Prime Minister. I have myself seen copies of letters written by the Prime Minister to the governor of the largest port on the west coast urging him in the strongest possible language to prevent, as far as he could, the importation of these Mozambiques. But with 900 miles

of coast along the Mozambique channel this was no easy task. In 1874 the Government felt that they must do something with regard to these Mozambiques imported into the country contrary to the treaty. The Prime Minister saw the difficulty that would arise with regard to the date of the treaty, which would make it practically impossible to say who were imported before it and who after it. And yet if he had at once proclaimed all the Mozambiques to be free, irrespective of the date of entry, he would have been open to the charge of going beyond the treaty, and unjustly taking from the people that which they considered their lawful property. Thus it will be seen that he had to proceed cautiously in the matter. What then did he do? In the Queen's name the first proclamation of 1874 was issued, ordering the liberation of the Mozambiques imported since 1865. But I have authority for stating that at that time the Prime Minister did not expect much result from it; that he wrote to Lord Derby saying what he had done, and that if it were not successful the Queen and himself were prepared to take the further step if only they had time given them. What was the further step? The new proclamation of 1877, which liberated all African slaves, whenever imported, whether before or after the treaty of 1865; and the fact of the non-fulfilment by the people of the first proclamation was made a strong reason for the bold step then taken, and without which it would have been impossible to have taken it. Thus you see that it is possible to account for the non-success of the first proclamation without saying, as Mr. Street does, that it 'was made for the purpose of deceiving Englishmen,' or that the Prime Minister's 'purpose was accomplished, and the British public blinded,' or that 'certain English missionaries have connived at these efforts,' &c.

"2. *How far has the second proclamation been carried out?* It will be observed that Mr. Street includes both under the adjective 'sham,' and says that the majority of the Mozambiques are no more free than they were, previous to the proclamation; though he does admit that 'a few hundred may (perhaps) gain] their freedom.' Allow me, in the first place, to state that I believe Mr. Street is quite mistaken when he says that 'inquiry has been made whether they prefer to continue in slavery or be made free.' I

do not believe it for a moment; nor yet that they have been 'terrified into choosing slavery for freedom.' I believe, on the contrary, that this proclamation has been made in entire good faith, that it was meant to be carried out, and that it has been the means of setting at liberty a large number of slaves. The proclamation was made on June 20th, 1877. I left Antananarivo on July 20, too soon after, I admit, to be able to speak very positively on the subject; and yet I am not altogether without evidence that it was no sham. We heard, for instance, of several who were in great distress in consequence of being suddenly dismissed from the homes of their former masters. In some churches relief committees were formed to succour those who were temporarily unable to provide for themselves. I heard of one family who, on the evening of the day the proclamation was issued, sat down to mourn, as is the custom of the people on the death of a relation, because, as they said, all *their children*—i.e., their slaves—were lost. In another case I heard of several slaves going to the home of their master to say good-bye to the household because they were going away and were slaves no more. Again, a friend of mine, a good Christian man living some miles from the capital, was written to a few days before the time fixed for the proclamation, urging him to sell his Mozambique slaves, as there was something up. He preferred to wait the result. The proclamation came, and he told me that his nine slaves were all free and had left him. In another case I heard of two slaves being sold a day or two before the proclamation; but the price had not been paid. In accordance with one clause of the proclamation, the seller could not recover the price of them, and the slaves became free men. I have before me one number of a quarterly periodical published in the Malagasy language at Antananarivo, on August 15th of this year. Among other articles is one entitled 'The Mozambiques,' which gives a short account of the horrors of the African slave-trade, and the miseries endured by the people who were stolen from their homes and sold for slaves in foreign lands, along with very interesting notices of the work of Dr. Livingstone and others. This article proceeds upon the assumption that in Madagascar these poor Africans are now free; there is not a doubt

expressed on the matter; and the writer, moreover, gives three principal events which will for long be remembered as making famous the reign of Ranavalona, the present Queen, and the Government of Rainilaiarivony, the present Prime Minister, and the third of these is the proclamation of June 20th liberating the Mozambiques. But still I admit most fully that our information is not complete; and, pending further news, we had better suspend our judgment. Let me add, however, that on our journey home we were delayed for a month at Mujunga, the large port on the west coast of Madagascar. Here there was a large number of Mozambiques who were free; a piece of land had been given them in the Queen's name, on which they had built a large number of huts, and so they were living in quite a little colony of their own. And while at that port we heard much grumbling, principally from the Indian and Arab population, at the practical effect of this state of things—i.e., the entire absence of slave labour, to which they had been so long accustomed.

"3. *The re-organisation of the army.* I entirely demur to the statement of Mr. Street, that the thousands of young men who have been forced into the army 'are the flower and hope of their country,' or that the 'best class of Christians in Madagascar are found among these oppressed soldiers'—i.e., among those who have just been incorporated into the army. This is very far from being a fair statement of the case. What are the facts? For many years past very great irregularities have crept into the army, the principal one being that the higher officers had appropriated to themselves very far above the regulation number of aides-de-camp, there called *dekà*. No officer, whatever his rank, is allowed to have more than thirty of these *dekà*, but to such an extent had abuses crept in that in some cases many hundreds of these were attached to one officer. And it is notorious that a very large number of these were idle, good-for-nothing men, who had accepted the post of *dekà* to avoid their proper service to the Government of the country. It was many years since there had been a reorganisation of the army, and consequently there were in its ranks a very large number of old men who were no longer fit for their duties. In 1876, the time came for weeding out these, and for the first time in Madagascar this was

done without any bribery; the Prime Minister attended every day with the medical officers of the Government, who were Englishmen, and decided who were and who were not fit for further service. In this way a very large number were liberated from the army, whose places it was necessary to supply by others who were chosen from the *dekâ* above referred to, and being chosen for soldiers it was necessary to drill them. But in connection with this subject, and in all fairness, there is something else that ought to be told. Some of these *dekâ*, while in the service of their former masters, had been allowed by their superiors to occupy themselves in learning or in teaching in the schools, or in church work, as pastors, &c., and I state it as a fact perfectly well-known and proved in many cases, that all of them who could give satisfactory proof of their diligence either as scholars or teachers or pastors, were liberated by the Prime Minister from being soldiers in order that they might fulfil these duties; and few things have given more stimulus to education than this action of the Prime Minister. I am a member of the Society of Friends, and believing, as I do, in the unlawfulness of all war, am no defender of military establishments either in England or Madagascar but I do plead for a fair way of stating facts even about the army. Mr. Street says, in reference to this drilling of soldiers: 'And what does it all mean? If anything more than vain show, it means a marauding expedition upon some of the weaker tribes. They call these expeditions war,' &c. Hardly anything could be more unfair than this. Any one reading it might think that marauding expeditions were of frequent occurrence. Now what is the fact? During the last *ten* years there has been but one military expedition, and even that was very much a defensive one. It was divided into two sections, one of which returned without firing a shot, and neither of which could in any sense be called 'marauding.'

"Finally, I wish to say that while I do not consider the present Prime Minister of Madagascar to be immaculate, nor his Government perfect, I see very much more to praise than censure in his public course, and I believe he is sincere. Ambition he certainly has; it may be personal ambition; but what would any Prime Minister be worth who

had no ambition? and I believe the principal ambition of Rainilaiarivony is to be remembered as a ruler who advanced his country in what he believed to be true greatness. Whatever may be his faults no one can charge him with bribery, or with enriching himself at the public expense; and the way in which his policy has tended to encourage education, and to discourage the traffic in rum, must ever be remembered to his honour.

"I am, yours respectfully,

"HENRY E. CLARK.

"*Lifton Villas, Woodhouse Moor, Leeds,
December 22nd, 1877.*"

SOUDAN AND WESTERN SAHARA.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.)

DEAR SIR,—In the month of June, 1876, I left England with the view of making an exploration of the North-West Coast of Africa, for the purpose of finding a suitable site for a commercial and missionary station, and also to examine, as far as practicable, the mouth of the channel which at one time formed the connection between the basin of El Juf, in the Western Sahara, and the Atlantic ocean. Before I proceeded from England I received several conflicting accounts of the situation of this channel. Some placed it between Cape Juby and Cape Bojador, while others placed it to the north of Cape Juby. The opinions of those I consulted were equally contradictory regarding the best position for a station.

One of the first things I did, after reaching Lanzarote, Canary Islands, was to call together the most experienced seamen and fishermen of this island, and question them minutely regarding their knowledge of the opposite coast of Africa. After I obtained the necessary information from them, we proceeded to the coast of Africa, and examined it from Cape Bojador in the south, to Boca Grande, or great mouth, in the north, a coast-line of about 200 miles in extent. There are several places where a landing can be made on this coast at certain seasons of the year; but we could only find one safe harbour, situated in the vicinity of Cape Juby. It is formed in a small bay by a reef stretching out from Cape Juby to a distance of about one and a half miles southward, running parallel

with the shore, which makes a gradual bend inwards from the cape. Several portions of the reef are visible at low water, and at that state of the tide the water inside is as smooth as a lake, having an average depth of ten feet. At high water the depth is about eighteen feet. The entrance of the harbour is about 500 yards wide. The port is sheltered from almost all weathers, having Cape Juby on the north, the reef, which forms a breakwater, on the west; the mouth being covered by a small cape jutting out on the south; the southern extremity of the reef forms a small rocky island about 500 yards in length by about 150 in breadth. This would be a convenient site for a station, as it would be secure from any depredations from the natives. Good building material can be had on the spot, and water for culinary purposes may be obtained on the shore. The tribes who inhabit this part of the coast met us on our first landing in a friendly manner, which, I am happy to say was not marred by any serious unpleasantness during our stay with them. I had given strict charge that whoever of my party should have any dealings with these people should pay for everything they received unless it was given as a present. This seemed to have visible effect upon the natives; for, on our final departure from their shores, they repeatedly inquired in how many moons we should return, and often extolled the English. The natives are not of the negro race, but are the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Atlas, who were driven south by successive invaders, from the Carthaginians to the Mohammedans. They are tall and handsome, with features and colour resembling Europeans. They are simple in their habits, and not bigoted like the Moors of Morocco. Indeed the inhabitants of this latter country look upon the whole race as infidels, or the "Christians of the Desert." They do not marry more than one wife, neither do they appear to have slaves; they deal in them, but this appears a matter of compulsion, for the merchants of Morocco, from whom they receive their present supply of European merchandise, demand slaves in exchange for their goods. The slaves are captured in Soudan; it is said that no less than 10,000 of these poor creatures are annually sent to Morocco, where they are

sold like cattle in the public markets. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Cape Juby rear large flocks of camels, sheep, and goats. Corn is cultivated to a considerable extent in the interior. The dress of the people consists chiefly of loose blue garments; they carry guns of European manufacture, and daggers of native make artistically mounted in silver. Their schoolmasters teach the people to read and write the Arabic, while the priests are engaged in religious devotions. I made the chief of the interior and his son, who is a priest, a present of an Arabic Bible each. They seemed delighted with them. The priest read a portion of it to the people who surrounded him. They listened eagerly to every word he uttered, and they seemed to be much impressed; he wrote my name in Arabic in each Bible; then, wrapping them up carefully in his garment, offered me two rams as a present for them: this generous offer I was obliged to decline. The Bibles were kindly given by the British and Foreign Bible Society. All the people were anxious that an English station should be established at Cape Juby, and the chief promised his co-operation for furthering this object. He was unwilling that any exploration should be made of the interior until this was accomplished, as it would convince them that we came to visit their country for honourable purposes; indeed, honest trade is the only means by which their confidence and amicable co-operation can be secured. They mentioned several articles of European manufacture they required, and pointed out that wool, ostrich feathers, ivory, gum, and hides would be the principal produce they would give in exchange. It appears from official reports that £200,000 is the annual value of the export of gum from Western Sahara, and that £125,000 worth of ostrich feathers and £60,000 worth of ivory are sent yearly from Timbuctoo and the surrounding country of Soudan to Tripoli alone.

Once a station is established at Cape Juby a large and profitable trade would almost immediately spring up, which could be developed to a large extent. There can be little doubt that a great part of the present trade of Soudan, amounting in annual value to about £4,000,000 would be commanded in a comparatively short time by Cape Juby, because the route from Cape

Juby would be about 1,200 miles, or less than half, shorter than the present routes from Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. Not only has Cape Juby the advantage of being the point from which direct communication can be held with Soudan, but it is the most convenient for England, it being distant only about nine days' sail from this country, and within seventy miles, or twelve hours' sail, from the Canary Islands, at which steamers call every week to and from England. These would bring whatever goods might be required for Cape Juby Station. One of the Canary schooners could hold the communication between the Canary Islands and Cape Juby until such time as the trade was sufficiently large to induce an English steamer to call. The climate of Cape Juby is admirably suited to the European constitution, it being equal to that of Madeira and Canary; indeed the whole route from Cape Juby to the Upper Niger is healthy, with plenty of water, and with about forty-two towns and villages on the entire journey. It may be stated that the natives of the Western Sahara build their houses with considerable taste; the material used is clay or stone. The towns are laid out in regular streets, and each of them possesses at least one mosque. There is no doubt in my mind that if the people of these regions were brought into direct contact with Europeans the result would be of the greatest advantage to us and to themselves. They are intelligent, energetic, and straightforward, and capable of being welded into a political organisation, that would be the greatest safeguard against slavery in any form, and would prove a powerful lever by which we might civilise that part of Africa.

I may here add that I made an examination of the mouth of the channel which is supposed to have formed the connection between El Juf and the Atlantic Ocean. It is situated thirty miles north of Cape Juby; the entrance is about two and a half miles wide, with perpendicular cliffs rising on each side to the height of about 200 feet, with a sandbar across the mouth. It is believed that the bed of this channel, at a short distance from the entrance, is much lower than the sea level, and that it widens inland. It is encrusted with marine salt, by which also the depression of El Juf is covered. There does not appear

to be any doubt that the whole of this basin, which is estimated to cover an area of 60,000 square miles, has been covered by the sea within historic times. This idea is confirmed by ancient tradition and modern research; also by a special report of one of Her Majesty's consuls. The accumulation of sand at the entrance may be assigned as the cause which led to the drying up of this inland salt lake. When a station is established at Cape Juby surveys can be made of this depression, with comparative ease and security, and this, a most interesting problem, be solved. The overland trade from Cape Juby can be carried on at once, and is capable of being developed to great dimensions—the people can provide plenty of camels for transport, and protect the road to the interior. £2,000, I estimate, will enable me to carry out preliminaries; if this sum were placed at my disposal I would proceed to Cape Juby next spring, and establish a station to form a base of operations. I would from this point make a journey to the interior, and invite the chiefs of Western Sahara to enter into a treaty for opening up trade with Soudan, and for its protection; also for the abolition of the slave-trade between Western Soudan and Morocco. I propose taking out with me a Christian young man, who would teach the natives to read the Bible in their own language.

I am of opinion that the station soon after its establishment would be self-supporting on account of the profit that would arise from the trade.

Yours very faithfully,

DONALD MACKENZIE.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

Fraser's Magazine for November contains an elaborate article on Coolie Immigration, and its many blessings. It has arrested our attention, however, from seeing it reproduced in West Indian papers. We quote from it the following passage, as it has a special reference to ourselves:—

"When deputations interested in that Colony pray the Secretary of State to come to a decision involving the question of life or death of Jamaica, they are informed that their request will be considered, 'together with a communication from the Anti-Slavery

Society, on the subject.' What the Anti-Slavery Society has to do with the matter, it is not easy to understand. That the sentimental prejudices of a handful of uninformed fanatics should be admitted as a factor in Imperial policy, is surely an amazing circumstance, not more insulting to the Colonies than discreditable to British statesmanship."

As far as relates to immigration, it would be a waste of time to revert to the subject while the following facts, as stated in the Committee's Memorial to Lord Carnarvon, remain uncontested:—

"The Committee need hardly point out to your Lordship that the financial unsoundness inherent in the system has been greatly aggravated by the powers which were conceded by Her Majesty's Government to raise loans for the furtherance of the object. Those powers having been exhausted, this department of the Island Exchequer presents an aspect of hopeless insolvency, unless its liabilities are thrown, in some form or other, on the general taxation of the Colony.

"In pointing out the financial and economical unsoundness on which Jamaica immigration has been conducted, there appears, in strong colours, the far graver feature of its surpassing injustice. It has enabled the planters, for whom the coolies have been imported, to keep down the wages of labour, by supplementing what may be estimated as one-half of its real cost from the taxation of the people. Your Lordship may remember a practice in England, now condemned as vicious in the extreme, of supplementing agricultural wages from the parish rates; but this, bad as it was, had something to be said in its favour, inasmuch as it was a contribution from property and not from the labour of the people themselves.

"The Committee now come to the last and most painful, but most important, count in their indictment of Jamaica Immigration: they refer to the demoralization it has entailed, and is entailing, on the character of the Island. New and loathsome crimes have been introduced, while murders and brutal assaults are of frequent occurrence. Its fearful contribution to the criminal statistics of the Island appears from the following returns:

"The total number of prisoners confined in the general penitentiaries and in the district prisons of Jamaica, on the 30th September, 1875, is given as 1,130. Of these the return of coolies is 347."

"While the coolies do not constitute one-fortieth part of the entire population, they thus contribute nearly one-third to its aggregate of crime. When it is added that of the 347 no less than 284 are confined for offences against the person, the picture becomes dark indeed.

"They would only be too glad were they able to indicate any plan by which the hopeless debt which it has accumulated might be liquidated without inflicting yet further injustice on the peasantry of the Island. Any such solution they fear is now impossible; and under the supreme necessity of bringing the present state of things to an end, as in other cases of insolvent estates, the wrong done may have to be borne in order to effect it."

If such be the result so earnestly desired by the writer as the highest good for our West India Colonies—the gradual replacement of the African by the Asiatic—alas! for Jamaica.

Since writing the foregoing remarks we are enabled to lay before our readers the reply of Lord Carnarvon to the Memorial from which we have just quoted; with a copy of his despatch to Sir Anthony Musgrave.

It will be observed that the soundness of those principles laid down in the Memorial are largely recognised by his Lordship. We have, however, to remark on the concluding sentence of Clause 9 in the despatch, that it might be inferred that the Committee recommended the acceptance of the planters' debt as a permanent charge on the taxation of the island, as an equitable compromise. They stated it, however, as a hard necessity to be submitted to, "as in other cases of insolvent estates."

[Copy.]

Colonial Office, Downing Street.

January 30th, 1878.

SIR,—With reference to the Deputation from your Society on the subject of Coolie Immigration in Jamaica, I am directed by the Earl of Carnarvon to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch which his Lordship addressed to Governor Sir A. Musgrave on that subject.

2. You will observe that, whilst in accordance with the suggestion of the Deputation, it was proposed in that despatch that the immigration should be undertaken by the Colonial Government, the proposed future adjustment of expenses was founded upon the following principles, viz., that all the external as well as part of the internal expenses should fall upon the employers; that the expenses undertaken by the Colonial Government should be for the common benefit of labourers of all classes; and that industries in which coolies are not employed, should be relieved from contributing to the cost of their introduction.

3. Sir A. Musgrave has suggested three

modifications in this scheme, which he has given reasons for expecting will be acceptable to all parties; the first merely one of financial detail; the second, that the Coffee Export Duty, the abolition of which, he is convinced, would not affect the peasant proprietor, shall be retained, but carried to the general revenue as a contribution in aid of the hospitals, which will henceforth be for the benefit of coolies and creoles alike; and the third, that the Colonisation bounty paid in lieu of return passages shall, as regards present immigrants, continue to be paid from the "Immigrants' Colonisation and Return Passage Fund," supplemented when necessary from General Revenue.

4. It appears to Lord Carnarvon that these alterations would not impair the general principles laid down in his Lordship's despatch, and he has therefore signified to the Governor his approval of the scheme thus modified.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.

The Secretary, Anti-Slavery Society.

Downing Street,

29th September, 1877.

SIR,—Para. 1. I have given my best consideration to your predecessor's Despatch, No. 154, of the 22nd of September, and enclosures, on the subject of the resumption of coolie emigration from India to Jamaica, and the payment from general revenue of one-third of the expenses connected with such emigration. I have also received deputations, at which you were present, from the West India Committee and the Anti-Slavery Society, and I have had the advantage of personal conferences with you on the subject.

2. I will first briefly review what I understand to be the present financial position of the question.

3. During the years 1873-1875 the expenses connected with coolie immigration appear to have averaged in round numbers, £65,000, including the annual debt charged and the cost of commuting return passages. Of this total amount of £65,000, those charges of which one-third is paid from general revenue in British Guiana and Trinidad averaged £53,000, and the coolie hospital expenses, which in those Colonies are borne entirely by the employers, averaged £12,000.

4. The immigration revenue during the same period averaged £37,000, viz. indenture fees, £7,000, export duties, £19,000, miscellaneous receipts, £1,700, payments by employers on account of coolie hospital expenses, £4,300, contribution from general revenue, £5,000—this latter being the cost of commuting return passages.

5. The deficit, therefore, during the same three years, averaged £28,000, and, together with the deficits of previous years, has been met by money borrowed on the security of the

indenture fees and export duties with the guarantee of the general revenue. The amount, however, which might be so borrowed had been limited to £150,000, and that limit having been reached in 1876, further coolie immigration was suspended pending the reconsideration of the subject.

6. The export duties, averaging £19,000, comprise: (1) sugar, £8,100, (2) rum, £4,200, (3) coffee, £3,500, (4) logwood, £3,200. The proportion of sugar and rum duties paid by employers of coolies has been variously represented to me, by one

calculation as being less than one-half, and by another as being more than two-thirds. I have been given to understand that coolies are not occupied in the cultivation of coffee, and that they are not engaged in the logwood trade.

7. Cane products in Jamaica constitute the greater proportion of the exports produced in the Colony, but not nearly so large a proportion as they do in Trinidad and British Guiana. In Jamaica they averaged five-ninths during the period under consideration. In Trinidad they amount to three-fourths, and in British Guiana to seven-eighths. I may here observe that the proportion of the cost of coolie immigration which is not paid from general revenue in British Guiana is raised from year to year by indenture fees, which fall entirely upon the employers of coolies. In Trinidad about one-third is raised by indenture fees, and the remainder by export duties which fall almost entirely upon cane products. In Jamaica the assistance received by the employers of coolies from general revenue, and from export duties paid by those who do not employ coolies, has amounted to £15,800 per annum,* or little short of one-third of those expenses of which one-third is paid from general revenue in the two other Colonies, whilst the pressure of the remaining expenditure has been alleviated by the deferred payments involved in the loan system.

8. In these circumstances, it has been recommended, on behalf of the sugar planters, that one-third of the expense connected with coolie immigration shall be paid from general revenue. It has been urged that the maintenance of the sugar industry is not less vital to the welfare of the community at large than it is to that of the planters themselves; that negro labour is either not procurable, or, if procurable, not to be depended on; that the cultivation of the estates cannot be maintained without imported labour, and that the importation of labour cannot be continued without additional assistance from public funds.

9. On the other hand, it has been contended that it is unjust that those who do not employ

* Coffee duties	...	...	£3,500
Logwood ditto	...	...	3,200
One-third sugar and rum ditto	...	...	4,100
General revenue	...	...	5,000
			<hr/>
			£15,800

coolies should be compelled to contribute to the cost of their introduction; that if the sugar industry cannot thrive without such assistance, the sooner it is abandoned for other industries the better; that it is true that a great displacement of the labouring population took place after emancipation, and that a large proportion of it has become settled on small freeholds which they will not leave to work on the estates; but that many estates, including some of the largest, are worked almost entirely by negro labour, and that an ample supply is left of negro labourers who are willing to work all the year round if promised regular employment, with fair wages and good treatment; that, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per diem would be considered fair wages by the mass of the people, but that wages are kept down by an artificially-fostered coolie immigration; and that in these circumstances, the planters should be relieved of the annual debt charge, provided this can be done without additional taxation, but that, with this exception, all assistance from public funds should cease.

10. The whole question is one of considerable difficulty. On the one hand, there appears to me to be weight in some at least of the arguments of those who are opposed to assisted immigration in Jamaica. On the other hand, I do not doubt that many planters are at present in a position of real distress through a deficiency of labour, and I feel that it would not be fair to deprive them suddenly of the resource of coolie labour, which would probably be the effect of not affording them some additional temporary assistance. I am most desirous to meet the claims and objections which I feel to have been reasonably urged on either side, and I am disposed to think that the following proposals, which have been the subject of much anxious consideration, may be found to contain a fair solution of the difficulty, while I am confident that they will be accepted by both parties in the spirit in which they have been conceived.

11. Those proposals are (1) that the coffee duty shall be abolished; (2) that the logwood duty shall be retained as a check upon the destruction of timber, but that the proceeds shall be no longer appropriated for immigration purposes; (3) that the sugar and rum duties shall be retained as a source of immigration revenue; (4) that the planters shall be permanently relieved of the present debt charge; (5) That for a period of five years medical attendance, together with accommodation and maintenance in the Estates' Hospital, shall be afforded at the charge of the general revenue to all sick labourers, whether Indian or Creole; (6) that all remaining expenses connected with coolie immigration shall be met by the sugar and rum duties and by the indenture or capitation fees, such expenses being paid from year to year without any fresh debt being incurred, and that the sugar and rum duties shall not be increased, but that the indenture fees shall be varied according to the requirements of each year; (7) that the protection of the Immigration Department shall be made available for Creole labourers.

12. In making these proposals, upon which I shall be glad to receive your early report, I have been influenced by the following considerations, viz.: (1) that it is right and desirable to relieve those industries in which coolies are not employed from being taxed to assist in paying the cost of their introduction; (2) that, with an ultimate view to the discontinuance of assisted immigration, the planters should be permanently relieved of their present public liabilities; (3) that any additional assistance which may be temporarily given to them should be in a shape beneficial to Indians and Creoles alike; (4) that the cost of introduction, return passages, commutation of return passages, Immigration Department, coolie dépôt, &c., shall in future be borne as nearly as may be entirely by the employers of coolies.

13. I trust that all parties will co-operate to promote the return of creole labourers to the estates, the cultivation amongst them of habits of regular industry, and the growth of such improved relations between employers and employed as shall render the importation of labourers from India less necessary from year to year.

I remain, &c.,

Governor Sir A. Musgrave, K.C.M.G.

Reviews.

Restauration de la Traite des Noirs à Natal.
Par Victor Schœlcher. Paris: Imprimerie
De E. Brière, 1877.

This treatise, which has just reached us, by M. Schœlcher, who has so long represented the Colony of Martinique, in the French Chamber of Deputies, touches on the inception of what he deems a kindred traffic to the French "engagés" system, which, proving nothing less than a renewal of the slave-trade, was happily suppressed by the late French Emperor.

The Governments of France: the First Empire—that of the Restoration—and the Second Empire, all in their turn have succumbed to planter influence. This it was which betrayed the First Napoleon into the sacrifice of an entire army in the vain attempt to re-subjugate the then free and flourishing St. Domingo; it was this that made the restored Bourbons the sole and stubborn obstacle to making the slave-trade piracy, at the Conference at Verona, in 1822; and it was this which lured the late Emperor into the "engagé" slave-trade, which he had the wisdom, on the remonstrance of England, very soon to abolish.

It has been the misfortune of England and

her Empire to have suffered from the same influences which have, from time to time, led our different Colonial Ministers in the same sinister direction. Happy had it been for the permanent well-being of the British Colonial Dependencies had our Colonial Ministers steadily resisted the same influence, and had allowed the planters and the emancipated slaves to adjust the price of labour. How is it that negro emancipation in the Southern States, on a larger scale than the world ever saw, as sudden as it was complete, has resulted in a larger industrial production than ever, whether on the cotton lands of South Carolina, or the sugar estates of Louisiana? The only answer must be that there was no Jupiter to be invoked in the form of State-aid, and, spite of moral and social antagonisms of the gravest character, the planter and the negro have agreed to produce more cotton than ever before.

M. Schœlcher exposes the radical unsoundness of the principle which underlies all the schemes of servile immigration where the immigrants are inevitably ignorant of the country and the condition that awaits them.

On that more than doubtful measure for importing negro engagés from Mozambique to Natal we quote the following significant passage:—

“Ce que nous avons prévu en écrivant les lignes qu'on vient de lire, ce qu'il était facile de prévoir, est arrivé. Dès qu'il a été bien connu que le gouvernement anglais avait fait avec le Portugal un traité qui permet aux colons de Natal de recruter des noirs libres à Mozambique, ceux de la Réunion, peu contents des 60,000 Indiens dont ils disposent, ont pressé notre gouvernement d'obtenir pour eux la même licence. Ne s'inquiétant pas du côté moral de la question, ils en faisaient habilement une affaire de dignité nationale. ‘Il nous paraît difficile,’ disait le *Nouveau Salazien* (3 mars 1877), ‘que les portes de l'Afrique nous restent fermées, alors qu'elles sont ouvertes à l'Angleterre.’ Les planteurs de Mayotte et de Nossi-Bé avaient fait antérieurement une réclamation tendant aux mêmes fins. M. l'amiral Fourichon, alors ministre de la marine avait répondu: ‘Le but de cette demande n'est rien moins que de réclamer l'établissement du travail forcé à Mayotte. . . . Nous ne pouvons donner du développement à des recrutements de travailleurs dont on a trop souvent suspecté la source.’ Et, dans la discussion de la Chambre des Députés, où il annonçait cette réponse, il ajoutait: ‘Demander le rétablissement du travail forcé, c'est demander le rétablissement de l'esclavage.’ (Séance du 9 novembre 1876.) Plus tard, le 26 février 1877, dans la discussion de la même Chambre, où s'agitait la question

de la députation du Sénégal et de la Guyane, M. l'amiral Fourichon disait encore: ‘Quant au noir africain, il vous est interdit de le faire venir dans le pays (la Guyane); à la première tentative de ce genre, vous serez accusés, non pas de rétablir l'ancien esclavage, mais de faire revivre toutes les horreurs auxquelles a donné lieu la traite. Vous vous trouvez là en présence d'un obstacle infranchissable.’

“M. l'amiral Fourichon parlait au nom du gouvernement comme au sien propre; on ne saurait l'accuser, lui, d'être ‘un idéologue, un sectaire,’ il exprimait simplement une idée qui domine en France dans toutes les classes de la société, si divisées qu'elles pussent être, d'ailleurs, par les passions politiques. Il ne donna, en conséquence, aucune suite à la requête des habitants de la Réunion, ceux-ci furent même avertis, à plusieurs reprises ‘par des personnes des plus autorisées et des mieux informées, que le gouvernement ne voulait à aucun prix entendre parler du recrutement africain.’ (*Nouveau Salazien*, no du 3 mars 1877.) Mais depuis, le ministre de la marine, cédant à nous ne savons quelle mauvaise influence, leur a prêté une oreille attentive; il a prié son collègue des affaires étrangères, d'ouvrir avec le Portugal des négociations à l'effet de leur complaire. Le Portugal qui, évidemment, ne pouvait refuser à la France ce qu'il accordait à l'Angleterre, a répondu qu'il ne demandait pas mieux, et l'on s'occupe en ce moment des termes de l'arrangement à intervenir.”

Will the time ever come when our Colonial administration will cease to apply principles and measures for the supply and regulation of labour in the colonies which would be held to be monstrous at home? Were the difference existing at this moment in London between employers and their workmen, to be met by the importation of foreign artisans, and their cost to be charged on the metropolitan rates, we should but have the system which has been pursued in Jamaica transplanted to English soil.

The Flooding of the Sahara: an account of the proposed plan for opening Central Africa to commerce and civilization from the north-west coast. With a description of Soudan and Western Sahara, and notes on ancient manuscripts, &c. By Donald Mackenzie. London: Sampson Low & Co.

From the knowledge we have of the author of this work, and of the aims of the enterprise on which he has to some extent entered—at least so far as to remove it from the region of speculation, and to place it on a foundation of facts—we feel warranted in commending it to the patronage of the friends of Africa.

The letter of Mr. Mackenzie, which appears in our present number, will spare us any analysis of its contents—merely remarking that, in giving a favourable opinion of the work to be undertaken, it refers to the attainment of both philanthropic and commercial results. On the magnificent and most fascinating idea of restoring to the ocean the desert tracts of Africa, we will only say that if ever accomplished it would produce a grand and beneficial change in the physical condition of that portion of the African Continent.

AUGUSTIN COCHIN.*

THERE are but few of our friends now surviving to whom Augustin Cochin was personally known. Associated with Montalembert and Lacordaire, kindred spirits with his own, he ever advocated the rights and liberties of the poor, and the freedom of the slave. Profoundly attached to the Catholic Church, his yet higher loyalty to conscience ensured him a life of conflict with such of its spirit and its tendencies as are subversive of human freedom. Like Las Casas of old, he felt the sufferings of the slave and of the poor to be his own, and like him he was rewarded by the contempt and opposition, which a fallen Church, whatever its name, is but too apt to bestow on those of its sons "of whom the world is not worthy."

M. Cochin was the chief contributor to Anti-Slavery literature in France, and his work on the economical and social contrasts between slave and free labour have had an especial value. He appears to have expressed his disapproval at the imperfect and infinitesimally slow measure of emancipation enacted in Brazil. Our readers will not fail to recognise—in reading the extracts from our Consular Reports from that country, which we give in this number—the justice of his views. Like half-measures in general, it has failed in maintaining the productive industry of the Empire; while continuing to brand industry with the degrading association of slavery, it has effectually prevented the influx of voluntary labour.

* *Augustin Cochin*. By the Count de Falloux. Translated from the French by Augustus Craven.

REMINISCENCES OF AN ABOLITIONIST.*

KNOWN as Levi Coffin was to so many of our friends during his visit to England at the close of the American Civil War, we need hardly do more than name the above little work, and invite them to purchase it. We must, however, quote for the benefit of those of our readers to whom the subject may be either new, or have faded with other memories of the past, the following notice of the work by the *Cincinnati Herald*, which we heartily endorse:—

"The history of the middle portion of the nineteenth century would be defective, incomplete, without this book. It has saved from oblivion many important and thrilling events of the last fifty years. It has all the interest that a thrilling novel has to the lover of romance. It is a compilation of facts, not the invention of a fruitful imagination. It is written entirely and designedly without embellishment, and some of the incidents related, true to life, were the basis of the most touching stories in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

Levi Coffin has very lately departed to his rest. We copy the following from the *Friend*:—

"Levi Coffin, so well known for many years as an advocate of the abolition of slavery, and, since emancipation, for his labours on behalf of the freed people, died at his residence, Avondale, near Cincinnati, on the 16th of Ninth Month, aged 75.

"R. S. Rust, correspondent of the Methodist Episcopal Church Freedmen's Aid Society, writing under date Sept. 26th, to Joseph B. Braithwaite, says:—"I know you will be glad to hear of my safe return—but I have sad news to tell you. Our dear friend Levi Coffin fell asleep in Jesus a few days since. He sat down to tea, his head reclined, and in a few moments he was gone, without a struggle or a groan. I visited Aunt Katie, and did all I could to comfort her. I was one of the number who carried his remains to the grave and buried him. There was a large gathering of influential friends and citizens present, for our dear friend was universally beloved. The coloured people in crowds came to take a

* *Reminiscences of an Abolitionist*. London: Dyer, Brothers, 21, Paternoster Row.

farewell look of their dear friend; and in groups they gathered, and sobbed and wept like children. No man has gone to heaven from our city for many a day who was so universally beloved. May his mantle fall on some one worthy to wear it! I send you a brief account, from one of our city papers, of the funeral services. I wish you could have witnessed the scene, and participated in the exercises.

"The interment was very largely attended, by both white and coloured persons, including the ministers of almost every denomination. Murray Shipley, Harriet Steer, Isaac Lallance, Charles F. Coffin, Dr. Rust, Dr. John M. Walden, Peter H. Clark, Mr. Scott and Dr. Montfort were amongst those who took part in the vocal exercises of the occasion."

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